National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

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AARON M. POWELL, *Editor.*

WENDELL PHILLIPS, *Special Editorial Contributor.*

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AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

COMMEMORATIVE MEETING.

THE American Anti-Slavery Society met at Apollo Hall, in the City of New York, April 9th, 1870, at 10 A. M., to commemorate the accomplishment of the work for which they had organized Thirty-seven years ago, by the adoption in the National Constitution of the Fifteenth Amendment, securing to colored men equal civil and political rights with white men.

The Meeting was called to order by the President of the Society, WENDELL PHILLIPS, who said:

REMARKS BY WENDELL PHILLIPS.

I congratulate the members of the American Anti-Slavery Society that we are met at last in the full noon of that day whose very dawn hardly any of us believed we should live to see. I congratulate you that we stand at the very goal of our long effort; that at last the nation constitutionally in its organic law adopts the original pledge of this Society, to secure to the colored race of the United States all the rights and privileges which belong to them as men and as Americans. And when the nation puts itself behind that pledge of protection, of course we see that our work as an organization is accomplished, that our pledge is redeemed, that our promise is fulfilled, and we have nothing to do but to thank God and to throw our exertions henceforth into channels more fitting the hour which dawns upon us.

An opportunity will now be offered, in accordance with our uniform custom, for any person so disposed to address the Throne of Grace, or for silent prayer.

After a pause of a few minutes, the following hymn was sung:

OUR NATION IS FREE.

Our nation's free! our nation's free!
All hail! the land of liberty!
Loud swell the trump that sounds its fame,
No longer now an empty name.

Far let the joyful tidings spread,
Where'er the feet of man can tread;
Waft it, ye breezes, o'er the sea,
And tell the world our nation's free.

Our nation's free! our nation's free!
Proclaim the glorious jubilee!
Sublimely let its echoes roll,
And thrill with music to the soul.

The oppressor's power at last is broke,
And millions, freed from slavery's yoke,
Their thankful hearts and voices raise,
To speak their great Deliverer's praise.

Our nation's free! our nation's free!
How bright its future destiny!
Within its bounds no clanking chain
Shall bind the human form again.

Letters were then read, and others announced to be printed with the proceedings, as follows:

LETTER FROM JOHN G. WHITTIER.

AMESBURY, 4th mo., 7th, 1870.

Dear Friend:—I am not able to attend the closing meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, but if the spirit can go where the body does not, I shall be with you. I shall unite with you in thanksgiving to God for the blessed privilege of laboring in the cause of the poor and enslaved,—a labor which has been its own great reward and in which all seeming losses have been gains,—from the small and apparently hopeless beginning of the Anti-Slavery movement nearly forty years ago, to this hour when not only Slavery but the prejudice of color and the distinctions of caste are forever prohibited by the amended constitution of the country.

Thirty-seven years ago I assisted in the formation of this Society at Philadelphia. A mere handful of us came together from New England, the Middle States, and Ohio, mostly strangers to each other, without much personal consideration at home, and utterly unknown in the strange city where we met,—representing nothing but a few newly-formed Anti-Slavery Associations,—with the entire influences of Church and State against us;—and laid the foundation of a Society which, under God, has moved the world. Who of us has ever regretted that early consecration to freedom and duty? Who of us does not unite with one whose voice has cheered us through the long struggle, always wise, brave and hopeful,—in her declaration that there has been no such thing as sacrifice in this labor of love?

At this hour, remembering the mighty cost of the final triumph which we celebrate, let no word of boasting escape us. Not unto us belongs this consummation, but unto Him who answered the sorrowful sighing of the prisoners with "terrible things in righteousness." It is no time for self-exaltation and congratulation. Not as we hoped and prayed for has the destruction of Slavery and Caste been accomplished, but by the dread arbitrament of battle, and over the fresh graves of the young life of the nation. It is enough for us to know that we have been favored to see our several places of duty on the side of the Divine Providence, and to hold them faithfully to the last,—that we have had a part, however small, in the great work of human redemption.

To-day the American Anti-Slavery Society ceases because its work is done. But the enthusiasm of humanity which called it into existence, I trust still remains with us, although our heads are frosted by time. If we are, some of us, too worn and weary for active labor, let us, at least, give our word of cheer and sympathy to those who are to take our places and make the liberty so dearly purchased a blessing to all.

It is hard to say farewell. But we part now to meet hereafter, in spirit if not in person, in every wise and Christian effort which shall have in view the well-being of man. Thy friend, JOHN G. WHITTIER.

LETTER FROM D. L. AND L. MARIA CHILD.

To the Anti-Slavery Friends assembled to commemorate the Ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States:

DEAR FRIENDS:—We rejoice with you over the great work that is now legally completed. But while we are thankful to God for having been His instruments to right a monstrous wrong, we must not consider ourselves dismissed from service. The strong Fort of Slavery is indeed taken, and the starry Standard of Freedom is floating above its ruins. But we must see to it that no violent hands tear the standard, that no insidious hands undermine its staff, and no unclean hands soil its beauty with ugly stains. The attacking battalions have done their work bravely and successfully; but vigilant sentinels are still needed to keep sure possession of the ground they have won.

If the Anti-Slavery contest taught us any lesson effectually, it surely was that neither priests nor politicians can be trusted to do the work of reformers. There are noble individual exceptions; but, as a general rule, salaried men, whose standing and subsistence depend upon popular favor, will always be easily tempted to compromise any true principles, so long as such principles are struggling for ascendancy. Such men are mere gilded weather-cocks, that serve to show which way the wind is blowing. Quite another sort of men are those whose outbreathing life forms the strong currents that purify the air and set the vanes in motion. The world is far enough from being able to dispense with bold reformers, who proclaim the truth without fear or favor; and nowhere are they more needed than in this country at the present time. Observing eyes cannot fail to notice many indications of want of faith in the principles on which our government is founded. Not a few among us positively dislike those principles and would gladly aid in their overthrow, because they are despots at heart, and have no real faith in anything but force. Many others, who acknowledge the truth of those principles in the abstract, are yet afraid to trust them practically. They admit the right of all human beings to have a voice in the laws by which they are governed, but they query whether ignorant masses can be safely trusted to exercise that right.

We frankly admit that the experiment we are trying in these United States is a bold one; and we are aware that constant activity and incessant vigilance are necessary to carry it through safely and triumphantly; but it is the most glorious experiment that Divine Providence has ever trusted to the hands of mortals; and shame and sorrow will be ours if we are unfaithful in the performance of our high mission. This government is based on principles eternally true and just; and feeling assured of that, honest and wise men can do no otherwise than follow them fearlessly, though cautiously, whithersoever they may lead.

We have granted the right of suffrage to hordes of foreigners, who can neither read nor write, who are led blindfolded by a church bitterly hostile to every form of Protestant faith, and strongly opposed to free institutions, and the dissemination of knowledge. That such a dangerous serpent admitted into the cradle of this Republic has not destroyed it ere this, is owing to the fact that the infant was a Hercules. Danger threatens from that quarter, because those people are very ignorant, and it is the policy of their priests to keep them so; they are, moreover, not only alien by birth, but the spirit of their church is alien to the religion of this country, and to its institutions also. Yet even in *their* case, we would faithfully guard their rights as citizens, and trust to time and the influence of free institutions to render them more enlightened.

And have we not much *more* reason to trust in the colored people? They are natives of this country, they are fervently attached to the prevailing forms of the Protestant religion, and they are under the influence of ministers and missionaries, who everywhere encourage their zeal for knowledge. The active liberality of various Protestant sects in establishing schools among the freed people, and the eager gratitude with which the proffered instruction has been received, form a striking contrast to the spirit of Catholic leaders, who have not been ashamed to say openly, "Let free schools go to the Devil, where they came from."

The poor freedmen, so long shut up in the dark house of bondage, are, as an inevitable consequence, extremely ignorant; but they know enough to perceive their own interests; and fortunately their interests are in harmony with the best interests of the nation. Ignorant as they are, they have been marvelously discreet and faithful during the war, and since the war. They have manifested an encouraging disposition to wait patiently for justice, and to prove themselves worthy of confidence. They are thirsty for knowledge, and we have ample means to supply their want. If we do our duty, they will rapidly become enlightened citizens; and this course is dictated by wise self-interest, as well as by higher motives. If we keep alive our faith in free institutions and universal education, all will go well. Victor Hugo says, with impassioned eloquence: "Let us repeat that cry, Light! Let us persist in it. Light! Light! The light can penetrate these masses. Proceed then to teach, to enlighten, to announce the glad tidings of fraternity! scatter your alphabets plenteously! Proclaim human rights! Sow enthusiasms broadcast! Make thought a whirlwind! This multitude can be sublimated. These bare feet, these naked arms, these rags, these shadows of ignorance, these depths of abjectness, these abysses of gloom, may be employed in the conquest of high ideals. This lowly sand, which you trample beneath your feet, if cast into the furnace to melt and seethe, may become resplendent crystal, by which such as a Galileo and a Newton shall discover stars."

Oh that the world could be set to harmonious music, with the ever-revolving theme, God is our Father and we are all brethren! The Anti-Slavery movement has done much to help forward this consummation, so devoutly to be wished. We thank God for the small share we were permitted to perform in the glorious work. Oh, that we could again be lifted up by such enthusiasm for a grand idea! It cannot be. Such soul-stirring experiences come but once in a life-time; but when the chariot of fire ascends, it drops upon the earth a mantle for succeeding prophets. From your old co-workers in the sacred cause, DAVID LEE CHILD,
L. MARIA CHILD.

LETTER FROM SENATOR SUMNER.

SENATE CHAMBER, April 8th, 1870.

To the Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society:

Gentlemen:—You propose to celebrate the triumph of Equal Rights at the ballot-box and at the same time to abandon that famous shibboleth by which you once rallied the country against slavery. It was said of Wolfe, the conqueror at Quebec, that he died in the arms of victory, and such will be the fortune of your noble Society. "They run," was the voice that fell on the ears of the expiring General. "Who run?" he exclaimed. "The enemy," was the answer. "Now God be praised, I will die in peace," said he, and his battle ended.

The Anti-Slavery Society may now die in peace. Slavery is ended. But I do not doubt that the same courage and fidelity which through long years warred against this prodigious barbarism will continue determined to the end in protecting and advancing the work now begun.

I do not think the work finished so long as the word "white" is allowed to play any part in legislation,—so long as it constrains the courts in naturalization,—so long as it rules public conveyances, steamboats and railroads,—so long as it bars the doors of houses bound by law to receive people for food and lodging, or licensed as places of amusement,—so long as it is inscribed on our common schools;—nor do I think the work finished until the power of the Nation is recognized, supreme and beyond question, to fix the definition of a republican government, and to enforce the same by the perfect maintenance of rights everywhere throughout the land, according to the promises of the Declaration of Independence, without any check or hindrance from the old pro-slavery pretension of State Rights. It must be understood that every State, while perfectly free in its local administration, is subject to the supremacy of the Nation, whenever it touches the Rights of Man, so that, according to the ancient words of Demosthenes, the law shall be "a general ordinance, *equal and alike to all.*" Let there be Equality before the law, and all rights are assured.

In this cause count me always as your devoted and grateful fellow-worker. Accept my thanks for the invitation with which you have honored me, and believe me, sincerely yours, CHARLES SUMNER.

LETTER FROM SENATOR REVELS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 8th, 1870.

A. M. POWELL, Esq.:—*My Dear Sir:*—Would to God I could be with you. Nowhere could I so fittingly celebrate the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment as in the vicinity of the Headquarters of our noble standard bearer, "THE NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD," and surrounded, cheered, instructed, strengthened by its immediate friends and supporters. I may not be with you in person, but my heart, in its comprehensive gratitude, embraces you all. I leave here tomorrow, 9th P. M. for Brooklyn. Will I be in time to take our Wendell Phillips by the hand and try to thank him for all he has done for us? With heartfelt thanks, yours,

H. R. REVELS.

LETTER FROM VICE-PRESIDENT COLFAX.

VICE PRESIDENT'S CHAMBER,
WASHINGTON, April 6th, 1870.

Dear Sir:—I have just received your telegraphic invitation to attend the rejoicing meeting of your Society at New York on the 9th inst.; and regret that public duties, which have a prior claim on my time, prevent its acceptance. But, though not present, I shall heartily rejoice with you that, as the Nation has made all men within its limits free, the same commanding voice of the people has proclaimed that they shall all have that potential ballot in their hands which will protect their freedom and their rights. In great haste, but truly yours,

SCHUYLER COLFAX.

A. M. POWELL.

LETTER FROM HON. GEORGE S. BOUTWELL.

WASHINGTON, April 8th, 1870.

A. M. POWELL, ESQ., New York,—*Sir:*—Were the demands of the office I hold less imperative, I should certainly be present at the meeting to be held in New York on the 9th instant, to commemorate the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. This is the crown of glory upon the entire Anti-Slavery policy of the country. It is a marvel, a miracle, that in ten years such changes have been wrought! Slavery abolished, the slaves raised to citizens, and the Nation changed in its ideas and purposes. Liberty is of God and it cannot perish. Very truly,

GEO. S. BOUTWELL.

LETTER FROM SENATOR DRAKE.

UNITED STATES SENATE CHAMBER,
WASHINGTON, April 5, 1870.

MR. A. M. POWELL, New York,—*Dear Sir:*—I duly received your telegram inviting me to attend and participate in the meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society in New York, on the 9th inst., to commemorate the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment.

It would gratify me much to unite on that occasion with that Society in commemorating an event which in moral grandeur seems to me hardly surpassed in history; but my public duties here will not permit it. I need not, however, assure you how fully my heart will be with you on that occasion.

Permit me to express the hope that now that the Nation has been just to the colored race, that race will be just to itself, by appreciating at its true value the great franchise of American citizenship, and exercising it always in support of justice, freedom, and right. Very respectfully yours, C. D. DRAKE.

LETTER FROM THOMAS GARRETT.

WILMINGTON, DEL., 4th mo., 5th, 1870.

AARON M. POWELL,—*Esteemed Friend:*—I received an invitation from thee and our kind friend Mary Grew, to attend a meeting in New York the 9th of this month, to commemorate the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment. I certainly would be with you on that interesting occasion, were it in my power to do so. Some five weeks since I received an injury, getting out of a carriage, in one knee, and have been confined to my room with it the last four weeks, and cannot walk across my room without crutches; therefore have no hope of being able to get to attend the meeting, which I fully intended to do, and much regret my inability to do so, as it would give me great pleasure to meet my old friends, who have labored so long with me in the cause of the slave, and join with them in the last meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society. I rejoice that I have lived to see this day, when the colored people of this favored land, by law, have equal priviledges with the most favored. And I have faith to believe that ere long equal justice will be granted the poor Indians, and the Chinese. In the year 1818 I became a member of the Abolition Society of Pennsylvania, and labored therein till 1822, when I removed to Wilmington, Del. That year I was appointed, with William Chandler, by the Delaware Anti-Slavery Society, to investigate the case of two colored bound girls, that were sold as slaves to a trader in slaves, who took them out of the State and sold them. From that time I neglected no opportunity to aid all those oppressed people who called on me for aid, and have had cause to be thankful that I was placed in a situation where I could aid those abused and down-trodden people. No labor during a long life has given me so much real happiness, as what I have done for the slave. And I now rejoice most heartily, that African Slavery is forever ended in this country, but there is much yet for philanthropists to do, for this people, before they can fully enjoy the great boon granted them by the Fifteenth Amendment. In this city on 7th day last at an election for school directors, the colored peoples vote was taken at seven of the nine wards; at two wards with Democratic inspectors their votes were refused, this state of things cannot continue long. The friends of the slave may now profitably turn their attention to the Sixteenth Amendment, and the Woman Suffrage question, for that too must soon be settled by granting equal suffrage to male and female alike. Sincerely thy assured friend,

THOMAS GARRETT.

TELEGRAM FROM MISSISSIPPI.

JACKSON, Miss., April 8th, 1870.

To the Hon. WENDELL PHILLIPS, *President American Anti-Slavery Society, Apollo Hall:*

The undersigned have been directed, by a meeting of Friends in Mississippi of the cause of Human Liberty, to send you on the close of the labors of your Society, words of greeting, while rejoicing that the complete tranquilization of the nation has reached a consummation in which the Anti-Slavery Society passes naturally out of existence. We rejoice farther, that it does so with the cause of Equality before the law guaranteed in the State of Mississippi on a broad and generous basis which commands the support of not only the people of color, but is destined to command, within a few months, the support of the great body of the old Unionists amongst the whites. J. L. ALCORN, President.

O. C. FAENCH, }
H. W. FOLEY, } Secretaries.

LETTER FROM ROBERT PURVIS.

BYBERRY, Philadelphia, April 8th, 1870.

My Dear Friend:—I am grievously disappointed; a heavy cold afflicts me, and I cannot be with you and the rest of the faithful ones at this closing meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

With one other exception I have never failed attendance, upon Anniversary occasions, from the formation of the Society in 1833. I had the honor, as you know, of being a member of the Convention that created the Society, and shared in the privilege of signing its immortal "Declaration of Sentiments."

How marvellous the change from that time to the present! It bewilders, it puzzles me, and the fruition of the mighty change steals upon my senses, leaving me in a half-conscious existence of indescribable happiness!

Free! absolutely, unconditionally free! Not that in body we were fettered, but invisible and corroding chains ever bore heavily their cankerous weight upon our soul. This, though long labored for, yet, as it seems, sudden emancipation, excites strange emotions. Is it to be wondered at? "A long communion tends to make us what we are." But still I joy in the happiness which this freedom gives. My purpose was only to send you the enclosed, as about what I should have said at the "Commemorative" Meeting—and not to "run at this length." Make what disposition you please of it.

Ever, and very truly, ROBERT PURVIS.

MR. PRESIDENT: Daniel Webster contemptuously referred to the Abolitionists as being engaged in a "rub-a-dub agitation." Sir: That agitation has brought us to the goal of our hopes. That agitation brings the consummation so devoutly wished; so earnestly longed and labored for. That agitation, in a word, enables us to-day to strike hands with congratulatory feelings, that our specific work, to which we were pledged as members of the American Anti-Slavery Society, is accomplished, and that our government, in almost perfect symmetry and harmony, presents a living faith in its declared principles. I say almost, for our government will not have perfected itself as truly Republican, until administered in accordance with the received maxim or principle "by the consent of the governed," thereby repudiating all exercise of power and rule, founded not only upon conditions of race and color, but also that of sex. Then, Sir, and not till then, will we have a government "of the *whole* people, for the *whole* people, and by the *whole* people."

My mind, Mr. President recurs, to the early days of our Anti-Slavery cause. It was my privilege to have known that great man, whose bones lie in an obscure, and in an almost forgotten grave in a Western State. That man, who of all men, living or dead, solitary and alone, "put this ball" of Anti-Slavery in "motion." Sir, the honored name of BENJAMIN LUNDY, will find in the true historic record of this cause its appropriate place as *Founder* and *Pioneer*.

To the noble men and women, who with jealous watchfulness have toiled on to this hour of triumph—I bid welcome to the honors that await them, for having faithfully discharged their duty to God, Humanity and their country. And now, in parting words, allow me, Mr. President, to say, and not alone for myself—but as I feel assured, I represent the views of the large and intelligent class of the colored race, who with feelings of gratitude, recognize the fact,—that to your enlightened wisdom and sagacity, in the last five years, of imminent peril to our cause, (you gave the same unselfish devotion, in unceasing labor, as well as pecuniary aid, which marks preeminently for more more than thirty years your connection with it) are they mainly indebted, under God, for the great benefaction which to-day invests them with all the rights and privileges of AMERICAN CITIZENS.

LETTER FROM WILLIAM WELLS BROWN.

CAMBRIDGEPORT, April 8th, 1870.

DEAR MR. POWELL:—I regret exceedingly that I cannot be present, at this the closing meeting of the Old Pioneer Society. When I look back and see how much it has accomplished in securing the liberty of my race, how much it has done for the cause of genuine Christianity in forcing the various religious denominations into a recognition of the rights of man, as a Christian duty, I feel to thank God, for the work done by the American Abolitionists.

And, while I rejoice that the Society has finished its labors and comes to an honorable close, I feel sad, to think, that the colored population are no longer to have the vigilant eye and watchful care of their old and tried friends.

When impartial justice shall give to the world a history of the great battle for freedom fought in our land, the highest niche will be awarded to Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, and their associates. And although the labors of the Society, as such, close with this meeting, it is to be hoped that our old friends, will, individually, insist on having the new laws crystalized into fact, until not an atom of distinction shall disgrace the American character. Yours for equality,

WM. WELLS BROWN.

LETTER FROM HON. WM. D. KELLY.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 6th, 1870

AARON M. POWELL, ESQ., *Secretary American Anti-Slavery Society, New York.*—*Dear Sir:*—I sincerely regret that public duties prevent me from accepting the invitation of the American Anti-Slavery Society, to attend the meeting to be held under its auspices in New York, on the 9th inst., to commemorate the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

Having witnessed the sacking of the office of Wm. Lloyd Garrison and his rescue from the Boston mob, and the burning of Pennsylvania Hall, it would indeed gratify me to exchange congratulations with the veterans of the Anti-Slavery cause upon the exclusion from the constitution of every provision that could be tortured into the sanction of the fact or spirit of slavery or caste. Having sympathized with the object of the Anti-Slavery party from its organization, but dissented from its methods, I have watched its every movement with interest, and while participating actively in political movements, have derived strength from the moral heroism of its members. The men and women composing the Anti-Slavery Societies of the country, while withholding themselves from party associations, have displayed such moral courage and confident reliance in the ultimate triumph of right and the efficacy of moral power, that they have elevated the tone of the country and greatly purified its politics. Men who have not known them personally are the better for their example. Their specific work is done. But future generations of those whose race never knew slavery will feel the good effects of the spirit in which they have labored. The good men do, lives after them; but never more enduringly than when it involves a persistent and conspicuous display of moral courage amidst trial and persecution in the service of suffering humanity.

Again regretting that I cannot be present and rejoice with you in person, and with heartfelt congratulations, I am, very truly yours, WM. D. KELLEY.

LETTER FROM SETH HUNT.

NORTHAMPTON, Mass., April 7th, 1870.

To the American Anti-Slavery Society:

My duties will prevent my attending the glorious jubilee, but my heart will be in communication with the assembly through unseen cords as they thrill with the magnetic vibrations of its joy and enthusiasm.

About thirty-seven years ago, while quite a young man, the subject of slavery was first brought to my serious consideration, by hearing an Anti-Slavery lecture. I became at once an Abolitionist. I could not help it. I should have been despicable in my own eyes, if I had not; but how I should bear myself in the fiery trials then impending, was a question; for it was the volcanic period of the reform. Mobs were rife, and soon after, the life of Mr. Garrison was put in imminent peril. Lovejoy was shot. In the city where I then lived a mob broke up the New York State Anti-Slavery Convention. Indignant at this outrage, I united, a few weeks afterward, with a company of young men, in calling a convention, in the same city, to take a stand for free speech, and form a Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society. We were successful. From that time to the present, I have labored in a humble way in behalf of the enslaved; though hardly expecting to live to see this glorious consummation.

It was often said of the Abolitionists that they *pulled down*, but *but did not build up*; and yet we now see that the means necessary to overthrow slavery, *have built up* a regenerated republic, vastly superior to our original government; so that President Grant can, and does truly say: "The adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution completes the greatest civil change, and constitutes the most important event that has occurred since the Nation came into life. Truly yours, SETH HUNT.

LETTER FROM HON. JOHN W. FORNEY.

A. M. POWELL, ESQ., *My Dear Sir:*—The commemoration of the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment by the American Anti-Slavery Society, will doubtless be an event full of significance. Of all the millions rescued and protected by universal suffrage, none have such a supreme right over that "finality" to rejoice as the pioneers of Abolition. They kept the faith amid a world of doubters and despots. They never allowed the Anti-Slavery inspiration to faint. Scorning the hatred of the bigot, defying the wrath of the mob, facing death itself, they persevered through long years, till at last they roused the conscience of the nation, destroyed both the old organizations, and established the Republican party; and when then the slave-holders flew to arms against the government, the people awoke prepared for the magnitude of the crisis, and in the conflict that ensued, crushed rebellion, slavery, and treason, and buried them in one common ruin. Then came the resistless logic of the situation. Upon the grave of disunion rose the sublime structure of civil rights, first embodied into the law, and now, thank God, finally consecrated into the soul and body of the constitution of the United States.

This is the sequel of your sacrifices and sufferings—the harvest of seed sown in tears and blood. More than thirteen years ago I took my stand against the usurpations of the slave power. I saw that the first step to its overthrow was to break down the Democratic organization which had been their most patient and subservient ally. Armed with your weapons, and stimulated by your example I began the work, and never paused till I saw hundreds and thousands of honest men of that once magnificent party added to the Republican army, and helping it to victory in the battle-field and to the ballot box. And therefore I feel that in this hour of complete triumph I have also a right to mingle in rejoicing with you.

But nothing in this hour of gratitude to God adds more zest to our commemoration than the unity, intelligence, industry, and emulation of the colored race. They have refuted all the prophecies of their foes and confirmed all the hopes of their friends. They have conquered vulgar prejudice, and sanctified a generous confidence. They have in eight years proved that centuries of servitude could not destroy their love of liberty, nor unfit them for the blessings that flow from rights always theirs from the first, and never henceforward to be taken away. Your friend and fellow citizen,

JOHN W. FORNEY.

WASHINGTON, April 7, 1870.

LETTER FROM CHARLES W. SLACK, ESQ.

OFFICE OF "THE COMMONWEALTH,"
BOSTON, April 9, 1870.

DEAR MR. POWELL:—Honor to the American Anti-Slavery Society for its constancy! It awoke the conscience of the nation in the early day—it guided to safe results in the hour of responsibilities—and it properly rejoices now that the great triumph is heralded!

My Anti-Slavery interest was enkindled by the Boston riot of 1835, and it is natural that I sympathise with you who have fought so faithfully at the crowning glories of 1870.

I cannot be with you personally, but my heart, all aglow at the great consummation, responds to every congratulatory emotion and every righteous word. Yours always for universal freedom,

CHAS. W. SLACK.

LETTER FROM REV. JOHN WEISS.

WATERTOWN, April 4, 1870.

DEAR MR. POWELL:—This platform of ratification on which you stand to-day is built out of all the other platform which your idea of justice ever put together. It has been the work of a generation. The republic concedes to bloodshed what might never have been extorted by argument. Heart and pocket have been touched together; for it is expensive as well as tragical to betray the Rights of Man, and Justice puts equality at the foot of this column of tears and treasure. You are casting it up to-day, and the glorious total of thirty years flashes in one moment on the eye.

Justice never had such a piece of work on its hands before, with so much deadly passion in the past, and such a claim on patience and good sense in the future. The Amendment takes the hand of the rebel from the freedman's throat, but he fumbles to reach there again, and failing that, tries to strangle with prejudice and social exclusion. Selfishness is so short-sighted: it hopes for advantage in stupefying the freedman with lack of education and manly privileges. Perhaps the hardest task is yet before us, unstimulated by the excitements of great campaigns; a plain piece of daily drudgery, no longer called up in the morning by the drums of the Republic; schoolmaster's service encouraged only by the beating of faithful hearts. You are ratifying to-day the necessity of a mental and social emancipation; the freedman is an outcast from our system, a mere parasite upon the country, unless he finds ideas and opportunities, and wins respect for both.

So that the work which you think is done begins again, and your hour of congratulation is the trumpet that summons to new fields. They may be bloodless, but all the more difficult to win. That episode of heroism which was thrust into our dull housekeeping, threatens to spoil us for the wear and tear that must go on. We have yet to show the true sublimity of petty perseverance in overcoming the faults and disabilities of a race, and disentangling a People out of this snarl of men.

Our hearts must welcome this contest, all the more because the country's disposition for the first time begins to lean to our side. We shall have national resources for a subsidy. The old hatred relents at seeing the hard look of the present exigency which implicates the whole country; no man is safe from Maine to Texas till it is radically solved.

We must watch lest sectarianism get hold of those men whom Slavery stunted, and complete their spiritual impoverishment. We must do our best to prevent Catholicism from attracting their ardent fancies, only to substitute a new kind of fetichism for that of Guinea. We must insist that the missionary shall have his theology reduced to marching rations, as he goes among those children in religion to distribute to them the plain truths of morals, of health and order, of a practical knowledge of God, of hopes less fantastical than their crude feelings now claim. We must persuade the country to undertake their education, and make it a national concern, and organize and pay for it, and to begin it by making their persons inviolate and their chances as good as the best.

This task of Justice must find the reefs of Florida no barrier, the Gulf of Mexico only a means of transit. The hand of the American black man must reach across to clasp that of the people who remember Toussaint l'Ouverture, to put in it the privilege of genuine freedom, to cleanse it from the blood of faction, to turn it to labor unvexed by revolution, till it developes the resources of an unrivalled soil, of mines which the old Spaniards scarcely scratched, of crops that might benefit and sweeten the whole planet. Let us thank the President for his longing to stand upon this threshold of the Antilles. Let us have Hayti. She must pass under the yoke of national emancipation. Only a great Republic can pacify and develop her, extend the blessing of pure and undefiled religion, conquer her by the aggressions of education, and turn her too ardent impulses into opportunities. The way to Cuba lies through a determination to regenerate the land where the black man first sighed for political and social liberty.

If I could be with you to-day I should move a resolution of hearty coöperation with President Grant in his great project.

But for the present let us do the work that lies nearest to us. If that cannot be well done, our complicity in the affairs of Hayti and Cuba will only entail another curse upon them. But if it be well done, we shall have a claim, that nobody could challenge, to the lands where such a work cannot be yet begun. Very truly yours,

J. WEISS.

LETTER FROM ALFRED H. LOVE.

PHILADELPHIA, Fourth Mo., 8th, 1870.

AARON M. POWELL, *and Friends of the American Anti-Slavery Society:*

Pulling at my heart strings has been the desire to mingle with you to-morrow; and as this day goes out, and I find I shall not be able to be with you, I cannot withhold my deep appreciation of your long and faithful services for Freedom and the hope that in retiring from one particular field, we shall enter upon those other duties, which seem to follow so naturally that we shall still be found working for the right.

I have two pleas. One that all the benefits of the Public Schools shall be opened fully and freely to all, irrespective of color. In our city many of the colored children have to walk excessive distances to reach their schools, and then they do not have all the advantages of primary, grammar and high schools. This is one of the most potent and peaceable methods of enforcing the Fifteenth Amendment. My other plea is for THE STANDARD, as the advocate of Freedom, Equal Rights and Peace among its other reforms. We need to sustain it. Here we are forming clubs and hope for the fullest measure of success by the time the new name appears.

May the great seal of "well done, good and faithful servants," be set upon to-morrow's meeting, and the 9th of April be remembered among all the holy days of the Lord, for it maketh for peace. Rejoicing with you I am heartily your friend, ALFRED H. LOVE.

LETTER FROM JOSEPH A. DUGDALE.

MT. PLEASANT, IOWA, 4th MO., 1870.

To the American Anti-Slavery Society:

Beloved Coadjutors:—This evening I have learned the day on which our beloved Society will be dissolved forever. Would to God I *could be present* to hear. It has been my privilege to be an humble worker with you from the beginning. I feel that notwithstanding with Hopper, Marriott, and many others we had to lose caste in sect, yet with all it has brought me *more wealth* than I could figure up in a life time. The early workers in this sacred cause are *blood relations!* I never held a position that I regard so honorable (as in the *dark days* when mobocracy lifted its brazen front) to be registered among the vice presidents of the American Anti-Slavery Society. I left my home on foot in Ohio in 1835, when I was a young man, expecting to walk two hundred miles to attend the organization of that State association. I walked but a day's journey, to the house of a friend, who accompanied me and *furnished* a *conveyance.* So it has been all along the line, the way looked hard to travel, but achievements have been won, and instead of plodding, we *now ride* in the *triumphant car* of *emancipation!* The slave is free. The shackles have fallen. The jubilee has come!—*High praises* and *renown* be ascribed to the *Lord God who reigneth* and hath overturned the devises of the crafty and taken them in the pits, which they digged for the faithful.

Coadjutors, we have succeeded in securing the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of our country, and our joy is *exceeding great.* Let us not fail to go a *round higher* on the ladder of reformation, and lift THE STANDARD still higher, that the Sixteenth Amendment may speedily be ratified, and "liberty proclaimed throughout all the land unto *all* the inhabitants thereof." God bless you all. Farewell.

JOSEPH A. DUGDALE.

LETTER FROM JOEL MCMILLAN.

SALEM, Ohio, April 7th, 1870.

FRIEND POWELL:—Your dispatch inviting me to be present at the closing meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society was received. I should greatly rejoice to be with you, but circumstances make it impracticable. There are but few instances in the world's history where any people have had such cause for rejoicing.

I think there is no case on record in which a great reform has been so completely effected in the lifetime of those who commenced it. Thirty years ago the tree of Slavery spead its branches all over the land, casting its poisonous shadow over Church and State, and its roots penetrated and entwined themselves in all the ramifications of Society. Now it is effectually dead, though there are many ugly stumps and roots remaining which it will require time and further effort to remove.

Ten years ago the Underground Railroad was in full operation; now it is a thing of the past, only remembered by a few of the managers and conductors. Let us rejoice and give thanks that we have lived to see the fruition of our work, and the realization of our hopes. Yours truly, JOEL MCMILLAN.

The following resolutions were read for consideration:

Resolved, That in the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment we see the fulfillment of the pledge which the Anti-Slavery movement made to the colored population of the United States, to secure to them all the rights and privileges which belonged to them as men and as American citizens.

Resolved, That while social prejudices, anarchy and the rule of the assassins at the South, and the ignorance, lack of organization and landless poverty which must for a time weaken the black, will all contribute to make the exercise of these rights neither easy nor always safe for years to come, still, since the voting class are never permanently wronged without its own consent, we feel that we may safely trust our clients to the general influences of civilization and Christianity.

Resolved, That, thanking Almighty God for the marvellous and unexampled quickness with which it has pleased Him to do His great work, penitent for the guilty past and grateful for the triumphant and undeserved present, we welcome our wronged equal to our side, promising him henceforth to make every effort to secure to him a safe exercise of his rights; the present opportunity for social enjoyments, for intellectual and moral improvement: relaxing no whit of our watch and aid until no vestige is left in social, civil and religious life of that hateful prejudice which has hitherto poisoned and disgraced our entire legislation, and we do,

Therefore, Now disband the American Anti-Slavery Society.

REV. JOHN T. SARGENT remarked that this was not only a glad but a serious hour. If this were to be the close of the efforts for progress by those whose labors have hitherto been devoted to the abolition of slavery, it would be the saddest funeral he had ever attended; but he had confidence that they would find in other directions a field in which they would still work earnestly to carry forward the work of securing civil, political, social and religious equality.

REMARKS BY LUCRETIA MOTT.

MRS. LUCRETIA MOTT upon advancing to the stand was greeted with loud applause. Although perhaps the oldest person present, she rejoiced that she could still lift her feeble voice with those with whom she had been so long associated, upon that platform. When an opportunity was offered at the opening of the meeting for prayer, silence had seemed to her the most effective prayer of praise that could be offered. She agreed from her heart with the resolution of gratitude to Almighty God for this wonderful victory. It was natural upon an occasion like this to look back to the beginning and to remember how they had gone on from year to year, never discouraged, through good report and evil report, until the evil report became to them a very small matter. But with all their faith and confidence in the overruling power of justice and love, they had never anticipated a victory like the present. After so many years, there was no thought of ceasing their work. Their motto was still onward. With this in view, there was nothing sad in being called together for a final meeting. She looked upon this occasion, not as a funeral, but rather as a resurrection. We have realized to a great extent a fulfilment of the prophecy, "And I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto me." It was natural for the old to like to look back to the early days, and to contrast the small beginning with the great result. In season and out of season, they raised a feeble voice; but it proved a strong voice; for the seed sown in weakness was raised in power.

MRS. MOTT proceeded to review the early history of the Anti-Slavery agitation, from the time when THOMAS CLARKSON labored for the arrest of the slave trade, relating incidents in those early efforts; in inducing WEDGEWOOD to put the picture of the kneeling slave upon his porcelain; in publishing prints of the slaveships; in introducing into school books descriptions of the slave trade; educating the people, so that the next generation would lay the axe nearer to the root of the tree. It was about the year 1825 that ELIZABETH HEYRICK came forward

Continued on Fourth Page.

COMMEMORATIVE MEETING.

Continued from First Page.

with her work on "Immediate, not gradual Emancipation." The old abolitionists of Pennsylvania had formed a Society with FRANKLIN at its head, the object of which was "to protect the rights of those unlawfully seized and held in bondage, as well as to promote the best interests of the colored people around us;" but this was of little avail, when slavery was legalized. The abolition of slavery in the West Indies grew out of ELIZABETH HEYRICK'S book; and she mentioned it the more because she was a woman. At that time BENJAMIN LUNDY was Editor of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation;* and he took a copy of that book to WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON who resolved thenceforth to devote his labors to that great work. She hoped that there would be prepared a history of the progress of the movement from its inception to its consummation. It seemed fitting, on an occasion like this, to make some allusion to the steps by which we have reached this great event.

REMARKS BY CHARLES C. BURLEIGH.

If I could give voice to the feeling which is in my heart, I know not whether it would be a voice of gladness or of sadness. If we think only of ourselves and of our companions in this great work, the finishing of which we come to commemorate, I know not but we might indeed be oppressed with a sense of sadness, were it not that we believe in the immortality of that spirit which has been acting in the form of our organization; that we believe in a metempsychosis which will manifest that spirit acting in other forms in the years to come. We who have been standing together in this conflict of more than thirty years; we who have together paused at times to drop a hasty tear over the form of a fallen comrade only to gather up the strength that seemed to emanate from the spirit that left that form, and to push forward to new struggles and achievements, are not to leave the field of reform and the contest for human progress when we separate here. The spirit that has achieved the deliverance of the slave shall yet achieve the enfranchisement of woman, the abolition of caste, the triumph of the great principle of the sanctity and supremacy of simple manhood irrespective of accidents and appurtenances. Therefore the sadness of parting is allayed by the confident hope of reunion. The funeral anthem over the death of the expiring Society swells out into a peal of joyous anticipation of the coming of that glad day for whose dawn this organization has been laboring.

Nor can we on such a day as this fail to remember those whose bodily presence among us would be so grateful, but who can only look down upon us from that higher sphere to which they have gone. I will not say to reap their reward for labor here, but for nobler and more efficient labor there. We remember those men and women who consecrated their time and talents and substance in our cause. I look to those granite peaks, from which I can almost believe gazes upon us the spirit of ROGERS, who gave his genius, professional ability and social influence to the emancipation of the enslaved in every respect. I remember the WINSLOWS, the DENNETTS, the PARKERS, the JACKSONS, and many others, the mention of whose names is unnecessary in addressing an assembly in whose hearts their memories are consecrated. And may I say that though they are not with us in the body we can feel their presence as certainly as if their hands could still grasp ours.

"Is it a dream that such as these look down,
And with their blessing our rejoicing crown?"

As I listened to the missives which have come to us, greetings from Congressmen, Vice-Presidents, Secretaries of State, men eminent in literary and political life, I could but contrast the end with the beginning. Men now greet our triumph, and rejoice in the achievement of that victory which their predecessors endeavored to make impossible. I remember that on the occasion of the burning of Pennsylvania Hall, we had an utterance from one whose words have cheered us to-day; the Poet WHITTIER, who anticipated that though it should stand until its walls should crumble from decay, this struggle would continue until then.

But we to-day, not waiting for the slow crumbling of strong walls, not waiting for the lapse of years, or the life-time of generations, are permitted in the good providence of God to stand together to join in congratulation for the achievements not merely of the work we had then in view, the breaking of the chains of chattel bondage, but the lifting up of the emancipated chattel to be a sharer in the sovereignty of the grandest nation whose destiny is to fill the pages of future history. (Applause).

REMARKS BY HON. GEORGE W. JULIAN.

HON. GEORGE W. JULIAN of Indiana said: I do not remember the time when I was not the friend of impartial freedom and equal rights for all men, and I may add, for all women. (App). I have given the strength of my manhood and the best years of my life, through thick and thin, through good report and through evil report, in that direction. I was so far a fanatic twenty years ago as to defend the Abolitionists of the United States upon the floor of the House of Representatives, against the calumnies of slave-holders who have since gone down under the damnation of history as traitors to the land that gave them birth. (Applause)

We are here this morning to exchange congratulations and rejoicing over a great national event. But in the midst of this rejoicing the sentiment of sadness it seems to me, naturally wells up in the hearts of men. The South of to-day has a striking resemblance to the South of nine years ago. But all our troubles are the legitimate fruits of our own failure at the proper time to do the duty before us. I thought early in the war that Congress ought to confiscate the great landed estates of the rebel leaders, and parcel them out among our soldiers and sailors, of the army and navy, as some little reward for their fidelity, and a fit chastisement of the rebel chiefs. If that duty had been performed we should have been spared the spectacle of to-day in the blasted regions of slavery. I thought also at the end of the war that we should have punished some of the most conspicuous of the rebel leaders. I never demanded vengeance, but I asked for the ordinary administration of justice against most extraordinary national criminals; and it seems to me to-day a pitiable thing that since the close of the war not a man has been punished, confessing to the other nations of the earth that treason is not a crime worthy to be punished. I think we have made another mistake in hurrying these rebel districts back into the Union. I thought they should go through a course of probation and pupilage which would in the course of years have prepared them for admission into the United States. These were miserable mistakes; but we have triumphed over all the mistakes of our civil and military leaders hitherto, and I believe we shall triumph still further. I cannot believe that we shall be permitted now to halt in the grand march of events in which God is so visibly guiding this nation to Liberty.

MRS. ABBY KELLEY FOSTER referred to the bill introduced by Mr. JULIAN in Congress, giving homesteads to the colored men of the South, making them independent, and enabling them to vote freely and not in subjection to Democratic masters; and expressed her regret that he was not to return to Congress.

Miss MARY GREW, added to the names quoted by Mr. BURLEIGH, that of EVAN LEWIS of Philadelphia, as one of the early friends of the cause, whose lives were not spared to witness the triumph of to-day, and gave a sketch of his efforts in the formation of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society and subsequently of the American Anti-Slavery Society. To those accustomed to labor in the Anti-Slavery cause, and who were accustomed to threats and denunciations, it was strange to hear naught now but greetings and congratulations. In congratulating each other upon the results of our work, it should not be forgotten that whatever offerings we have laid upon the altar, it has blessed us far more than we have blessed it. Although we disband the American Anti-Slavery Society to-day, other fields are white with the harvest, waiting the thrusting in of our sickle to reap, and there we shall labor in faith and in hope until our mission here shall be ended.

MRS. A. K. FOSTER said that, although slavery had been apparently abolished by the war, it was because slavery had before been attacked in its citadel, and the country had become prepared for its abolition. At the time when the Governor of Georgia offered a reward for the head of WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, he was a young man in a garret who, with a colored boy, were alone carrying on the war against slavery; but "one shall chase a thousand and two put ten thousand to flight," and to-day the work is accomplished. She proceeded to speak of the change which would take place from the disbanding of this Society, with regard to its organ, THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD; that that paper under its present editor would still be devoted to reform, to be known hereafter as THE STANDARD.

REV. HENRY HIGHLAND GARNETT.—It would be useless for me to deny that I share largely in the feeling pervading this audience to-day, of mingled gratification and regret; gratification that slavery no longer exists; regret that this society is now to be dissolved. I could wish that the Society should continue until not a slave should tread on the soil of the Western Continent, and wherever slavery may exist in the world, until it shall be abolished. I feel as the poet felt when he said, "Woodman, spare that tree, touch not a single bough." I see here to-day some of the same men and women whom I saw upon this platform thirty-three years ago, when I made my maiden speech in this cause. Their hair, then black, is now gray; their forms, then elastic, are now bowed with advancing years. I remember on that occasion that woman's appearing upon the platform was greatly objected to. But one of those who objected took occasion to quote some lines, and suddenly stopped. "Go on," said Mrs. FOSTER, then ABBY KELLEY; but finding that he would not, she finished the quotation:

"When woman's heart is bleeding,
Shall woman's voice be hushed,"—

and that was the last we heard of that objection. (Applause). At that time our friend Mrs. MOTT was in the prime of her womanhood. Mr. DOUGLASS was then a Methodist preacher. Our friend, Mr. PHILLIPS, I do not remember—

Mr. PHILLIPS.—I was in Europe.

Mr. GARNETT.—If he had not been in Europe, he would have been *there.* (Applause). I remember that in early times the Abolitionists were divided as to the measures to be adopted for the overthrow of slavery; some adhering to moral suasion, and others believing that physical force would be necessary; that slavery could not be abolished until it should be washed out with blood, and the slave should himself with the bayonet write his own history in the hearts of this people. It seems that God in his providence has adopted both measures. Now that the last crowning act has been accomplished, the blotting out of the last vestige of slavery from our Constitution, we may well say, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace." (Applause).

Mrs. MOTT remarked that she had always taken pleasure in listening to remarks from ROBERT PURVIS, FREDERICK DOUGLASS, and other half-colored men, but she thought the blacker the speaker the better she liked it. (Laughter and applause.) She believed that the overthrow of slavery had been accomplished, not by carnal weapons, but through moral means which have been mighty through God for the pulling down of the stronghold. She alluded to the discussions by THEODORE D. WELD and others in the Lane Theological Seminary, and the continued agitation which had so instructed the nation that when the rebellion broke out the nation became one great Anti-Slavery Meeting and demanded the Proclamation of Emancipation. And although the nation was long in reaching the full results, we may have strong confidence that Truth is mightier than the sword, and should be careful how we admit that the consummation was through the battle-field.

C. C. BURLEIGH reminded the Society that ABBY KELLEY FOSTER used to warn the people that unless they yielded to the voice of truth, "blood would flow to the horses' bridles." He then related an anecdote of which he had been reminded by the expression of Mrs. MOTT, of a little girl who was called in by her teacher, when she was running on a hot sunny day, "Maria, come in immediately; your face will be scorched black." "I don't care," was the reply, "the blacker I am the better my mother will like me." (Laughter).

EDWARD M. DAVIS said that since 1835 he had been a member of this Society. Looking over the past, he had felt a continual rejoicing rather than solemnity. At one point, he had felt rather solemn, when opportunity was offered for prayer, and there was no response; which, he presumed, grew out of the fact that we had learned to do our praying for ourselves. The course of the Society of late seemed like a sort of Aladdin's lamp. We used to have rows of policemen. It is now turned into bunches of flowers. What poetic justice in replacing Jefferson Davis in the Senate by a black man! And many other similar instances might be recalled. It all arises from the foolishness of preaching, from the platform, the pulpit, the press, and through social intercourse everywhere. Now that we disband, it is simply to renew our harness for new efforts; and now that every man has the right to vote, we shall widen the field and confer the franchise also upon every woman. Mr. DAVIS concluded by reading a letter from ROBERT PURVIS who had been prevented by illness from attending.

Mrs. MOTT proposed to offer a resolution of thanks to some of those who had spent their lives in this cause; but was reminded of the words of THEODORE D. WELD: "Let us as Abolitionists strike a level above which no one shall raise his head. Let us drop a curtain behind which every one shall work;" and would therefore forbear to offer the resolution.

Mr. RAY added to the list of names of former associates, that of HENRY GREW, who had left a daughter to wear his mantle. (Applause).

The PRESIDENT recommended the advice of WHITTIER, that we should not link with the cause the name of any human being, but to thank God, and to recognize his hand alone. (Applause). Of course we shall each recognize LUNDY and GARRISON as the pioneers whose names America will add to the benefactors of the world; but when we have done that let us stop the catalogue.

The following hymn, written for the occasion, was then sung:

THE FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT.

BY JOHN T. SARGENT.

All Hail! This glad decree,
By which the Freedman stands
Crowned with his Liberty!
And holding in his hands
The guerdon of his social right!
Attained through many a mortal fight!

We shout aloud our joys
For JUSTICE done at last!
The Freedmen have a voice!
With us are freely cast
Their votes, their will, their social lot,
Nor claim we aught which *they* may not.

So stands, fulfilled, at length,
GOD'S purpose in our deed,
To add a social strength
To those whom he had freed!
For *this*, alone, we truly see
Those, once enslaved, made wholly free!

Then give to GOD the praise;
Great Father of us all!
Who thus the weak doth raise
And "lifteth those who fall
To HIM,—to HIM alone, be given
Due praise from all, on Earth, in Heaven!

SPEECH OF FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS said: I share the sentiments I have heard expressed here. I am less disposed, however, to unite in eulogistic references to the labors of this Society, and in regrets at its discontinuance, than in rejoicings over the accomplishment of its work. I seem to myself to be living in a new world. The sun does not shine as it used to. I am living in an entirely new atmosphere. One of the wonderful things connected with this great revolution through which we have passed, and are passing, is the completeness of the work. While the reformers in other countries have been compelled to be content with half measures, favoring the objects that they sought, here we have a reform absolutely complete. Who could have imagined ten years ago, or even seven years ago, what has occurred? Ten years ago I walked among men with my head erect, ready to meet indignation with indignation, denunciation with denunciation, hard words with hard words. I went abroad at that time for insult and for buffeting on every hand; and there was seldom an occasion that I could not find it. Now I go abroad among men to find that civility is the rule, and insult the exception. The people in the street look different to me from what they used to. The old elements of malice and hate and contempt that I once saw written in the faces of men, seem mostly to have disappeared. It is a great change, a vast, a wonderful, an amazing change to me. I used to say, when called upon to speak on the subject of slavery, that I felt the poverty of language. Words were insufficient, were weak, tame, worthless, to describe the unutterable horror of that relation that doomed a man to the condition of slavery. A slave to-day,—to-morrow—for all the days of one's life;—what words either of earth or hell could portray the deep damnation of such a lot? But I am equally at a loss to-day for words to express my sense of the great triumph of justice and liberty that this association has been so largely instrumental in achieving. Not only the slave emancipated, but a personal liberty bill, a civil rights bill, admitted to give testimony in courts of justice, given the right to sit on juries, the right to vote, eligible not only to Congress but to the Presidential chair—all for a class stigmatized but a little while ago as worthless goods and chattels to all intents and purposes, but now regarded as men, and not only men but men among men, equal to any, feeling like men, recognized as such before the law, and beginning to be recognized as such even by the party that has endeavored to crush us.

One of the dangers of this change is in the temptation that is to come to the colored vote hereafter from the Democratic party. To secure the colored vote of the South, how nicely they will argue! They will say to the negro, "Before this great revolution took place, we were of course against your enfranchisement, as were the Republicans also at heart; we were opposed to any change; but now that it has come, and not from any love for you entertained by the Republican party, but as your emancipation was a military necessity, your enfranchisement was a political necessity; we accept it; and we are as good friends of yours to-day as are the Republican party, and a great deal better." And as poor men are so unfortunate in their constitution that they are generally more grateful for favors to come than for favors past, (applause) many of them will probably bow down by-and-by to the Democratic leaders who will know how to tempt them.

But I rose merely to apologize for not speaking; for I am suffering from hoarseness and am hardly able to speak. You may ask why I came here if I did not mean to speak. In fact I could not very well keep away from here. I know no place in the world where to-day I could be half as happy as here; to see these faces; to hear these voices; and these faces bring up other faces to memory dear but passed away. If I know any one name more than another of modern times worthy to be reverently and affectionately mentioned here to-day, it is the name of him who has recently passed away, and whose widow has given us this morning such reminiscences of the past as to cause our hearts to burn;—I refer to JAMES MOTT, (Applause), one of the most devoted friends of the cause that I ever knew; always happy, but I have never seen him look more happy at any time than when I have seen him standing in the great congregation under a tent in the West holding the bonnet of his beloved wife while she plead the cause of the American slave as none other could plead it at that time.

The name of FRANCIS JACKSON comes up, and that serene loving face passes before me to-day. But I must not go into details. I thank you even for the chance to sit upon this platform, to look in your faces, and to mingle my joy and my thanksgiving with yours for the great deliverance that has been wrought out.

The only thing that makes me solemn on this occasion is the fact that the black man is now absolutely thrown on his own responsibility; that by the acts of the government under which he lives, by his emancipation and his perfect enfranchisement, he is stripped of every apology for any sort of lack of manhood or of usefulness in society. I sometimes tremble when I think what the future may reveal in our case. And I *wish* to say here to those of my complexion, that if twenty-five years hence the colored man in the United States shall not have greatly advanced from his present condition, it will go hard with him. We must either go forward or fall back. All that I have ever asked for the colored man of the United States is just what he now has, absolute fair play. If he can stand up, well. If he falls down and disappears, I have sometimes been tempted to say, Equally well. No man has a right to live unless he can live by the powers which God in his wisdom has given him. We must depend on ourselves, make our own record, make our own future. I have no doubt that we will, or at least but few shadows of doubt.

We have already made vast progress. Two hundred years ago it was thought to be necessary by a pious missionary in the British West Indies to write a book of 200 pages to prove that it was right in the sight of God to baptize a negro. (Laughter). It was not a question entirely free from difficulty. It was the theory that baptism was a rite only to be administered to free moral agents, men who could decide for themselves their own course of conduct; and a negro, it was said, was not a person in that sense, but property; and it never could be acceptable in the sight of God to baptize mere property. And Dr. GODWIN actually proved that although the negro was property, he was also a person. Thank heaven, we have proved to the world that we are entitled to baptism. (Applause).

My friend GARNETT alluded to the fact that thirty years ago I was a methodist preacher. I hope he did not intend this congregation to understand that to be a Methodist preacher at that time was to be an enemy to the Anti-Slavery cause, or that it was *prima facie* evidence of being against the slave. Yet undoubtedly it was so at that time; for all over the country the Methodist preachers were considered opposed to the Anti-Slavery movement; although I meet a great many now who tell me that this whole revolution has been wrought out by the prayers of the Methodist church. (Laughter.) But in my own case, I was as much of an Abolitionist thirty years ago as at any time since; and when a Methodist preacher and local exhorter, I was as denunciatory of slavery as at any time since. I have seen great improvement in American ministers, white as well as colored; but I have never seen on our Anti-Slavery platform during the last thirty years, a single Methodist bishop, white or black. I rejoice that we have one here to-day.

It is very difficult now to find pro-slavery ministers anywhere. Even the old arguments drawn from the Bible of the divinity of slavery are no longer referred to. That "Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren," which used to knock our black logic all into pi; for you know we were never given to abstract reasoning, but were of a race willing to work two hundred years and take our pay in religion alone, and going to heaven when we died. The text was all sufficient to upset our theory as to human rights; but it didn't upset mine enough to keep me from running away. (Laughter). I confess that such is the force of education that I did feel a little mean in taking leave without bidding the old master "good bye." I remembered that servants were commanded to be obedient unto their masters, and I had been taught that if I wanted to get to heaven when I died, I must obey that command. It troubled me a little; but I kept on running, (Laughter), and after I got North I thought it was not worth while to go back again.

One of the resolutions proposes to give thanks to God, and none especially to men. I like to thank men. I like to thank the people I see. Those people who give all their thanks to God I have a suspicion of. Not that I suspect at all, JOHN G. WHITTIER; but I have no sort of sympathy with that kind of religion that expresses its devotion to God by neglect of their fellows. All through the Anti-Slavery struggle, men have asked, "Do you love the Lord?" who showed no love to their fellow men. I want to express my love to God and gratitude to God, by thanking those faithful men and women, who have devoted the great energies of their souls to the welfare of mankind. It is only through such men and such women that I can get any glimpses of God anywhere. (Applause). I want, not to fall down and worship them, but to express my gratitude and my affection for them.

I don't want to part from you at all; and I am glad to know that we are to unite in other works, and that though the form of this association shall be dissolved, the spirit which animates it, which has given it the power to rock this country from end to end, and to rivet the attention of the American people upon the wrongs of the slave for nearly forty years, at a time when it is so hard to keep the mind fixed upon any great movement for any considerable time,—that spirit is to continue its activity through new instrumentalities, first for the Indian, whose condition to-day is the saddest chapter of our history. The most terrible reproach that can be hurled at this moment at the head of American Christianity and civilization, is the fact that there is a general consent all over this country that the aboriginal inhabitants of this country should die out in the presence of that Christianity and civilization. Why is it to die out? It is because the American people at an early day took the same attitude towards the Indian as towards the black man, excluding "Indians not taxed" from representation by the Constitution of 1789. That exclusion has kept the tomahawk and the scalping-knife busy upon our borders, and the Western sky lurid with the glare of savage warfare. The only thing that has saved the negro is first the interest of his master, and now his being brought into the American body politic. And our energies are not only to be devoted to this, but to the interests of suffering humanity everywhere; and of woman too, for whose cause we can now labor upon a common platform. (Applause).

REMARKS BY JULIA WARD HOWE.

JULIA WARD HOWE said: I was afraid there would be no room for so small a person as myself here this morning, and as the proceedings went on my heart became very full, and I thought I had many things to say if I had time to utter them; but now that room is made for me I confess that I rejoice with trembling; because I never meet these friends of ours that I am not made aware of this: that while they were doing their Father's business so sedulously, they did something, without knowing it, for themselves:—they acquired some very valuable accomplishments. They acquired the art of confronting audiences of people and finding a sort inspiration in the variety of faces and the variety of minds and hearts there indicated: they learned to marshall their thoughts; to be always armed and equipped and on the alert; and those of us who have not had that training are very deficient in these qualities.

I think we owe, among other things, this to Mrs. MOTT, that she even shows us how the Quakers fight, how the mystical sword of the spirit is best used and wielded. She reminds me of those Prima Donnas who delight the world with their magica voices, and who have made again and again their last appearance, but who are not allowed to remain in retirement. And so I think that so long as Mrs. MOTT lives and is able to come, she must never be allowed a last appearance, but must always come. (Applause). Or if we must lose her noble tones, from her not being able to speak to us, let her come as a silent, living statue of the great things that have been done and the great principles she has ever defended.

And now one word about another soldier about to go to his home. We all regret Mr. JULIAN'S retirement from Congress; but we must remember that though the bravest soldiers and the greatest generals have an occasional furlough, they are always recalled to the front when the army is to go forth to battle. I think that Providence allowed Mr. JULIAN to go home principally that the devil might not have all the good music. He has been in Washington a good while; and now those at his own home would like to enjoy a little of his music. I hope he may find it a rest and a refreshment, but a very short one.

I cannot but envy those who come here with so many interesting and happy reminiscences in common, although it is a great pleasure to hear them. I can only supply you with a few outside reminiscenses. I was a New Yorker in the days when these things first begun, and saw how they looked from the outside. It does not seem to me that our friends measured the hopeless depth of the abyss around them, and the great gulf between them and the sympathies of the republic. I remember that my tender youth was bent by the harsh judgments of good people against them. But I was sorry that they should make such fatal mistakes, and that it should be so impracticable to devise schemes to help those unable to help themselves. I remember among other things that I was told that the negroes were taught all that was necessary to save their souls, and would go to heaven as much as anybody else; and it seemed to me that the masters were even more considerate for the negroes than for themselves; for what was to save the souls of the masters and to cleanse them from this wickedness seemed not to have been thought of. Hard as it was for our friends to meet the wild and brutal opposition of the baser sort, they must have been more wounded by conscientious, kind, and well-meant opposition, and that must have been harder to encounter and to bear. The Christian heart seemed to be against them. The Christian church, as it existed, was shut against them. Everywhere they were set in the sharpest opposition to all that builds up society. And when later we were obliged to dismiss this view, and see that they were trying to build and to do a good work, they seemed to have no materials to do it with. To create free institutions seemed to be like angling for the stars of heaven; and we forgot that "the stars in their courses fought against Sisera." (Applause).

It is a good lesson for us all to remember how wide and how sure are those heavenly oracles. I suppose the country at large will feel every year more and more its great indebtedness to this Anti-Slavery party, because that party really saved us from impending wreck, in danger, that none else knew so well, to the liberties of the nation. How could our liberties be safe, how could we enjoy free institutions, with slavery recognized in our midst? How, when we were disposed to ignore the doctrine of universal human freedom, could our own freedom be secure? What foundation had it to rest upon? We might as well expect to enjoy life and property in a community of thieves and cut-throats, as to enjoy a continuance of our own liberty without the freedom of the blacks.

One word about the next decade which comes before us now and looks us in the face. The last one has contained so unparalleled an experience that I feel many anxieties to see how the next shall come up to it. It has been said that we destroy. We have been digging; and digging comes before building. We have dug a great and deep foundation. Sometimes we see in a city like New York, such foundations laid for a grand superstructure; but the enormous fortune of one year by uncertain investments is gone the next; and then these foundations remain, piteous to look at, boarded up and mouldering, and nothing comes of them. We have laid an immense foundation. I hope it is not to be boarded up and to moulder, but that we shall go on to build upon it a superstructure more glorious than we are now able to anticipate.

Some things are going to help us to build better than we knew before. There are relations yet unrecognized in government, making possible a wider freedom than society has yet known. There is a certain diamond cement to be supplied in holding the stones closer together; and our daughters are to be polished corners in the temple of State. The building stones have only been blocked out as yet, but the polish the time that is coming will be sure to give them.

One word more, of the religion of my youth. When I now look back upon it, it seems to have been a sort of "Hands off" from every pressing and useful reform. I am glad to see that new dispensation, in which it has become "Hands on" to every work that ought to be done. Religion is now in sympathy with labor. It is labor. And we are to go on and be promoted to a Paradise of all energies, to be in communion with the saints of all work.

The audience then united in singing the following:

HYMN OF THE REPUBLIC.

BY JULIA WARD HOWE.

Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord:
He has trampled out the vintage where the grapes of wrath were stored:
He hath loosed the fateful lightning of his terrible swift sword;
His truth is marching on.

CHORUS.—Glory, glory, hallelujah, etc.

I have seen him in the watch-fires of a hundred circling camps:
They have builded him an altar in the evening dews and damps;
I have read his righteous sentence by the dim and flaring lamps:
His day is marching on.

CHORUS.—Glory, glory, hallelujah, etc.

I have read a fiery gospel writ in burnished rows of steel:
"As ye deal with my contemners, so with you my grace shall deal:
Let the hero, born of woman, crush the serpent with his heel,
Since God is marching on."

CHORUS.—Glory, glory, hallelujah, etc.

He has sounded forth the trumpet that shall never call retreat:
He is sifting out the hearts of men before his judgment seat:
Oh, be swift, my soul, to answer him! be jubilant, my feet!
Our God is marching on.

CHORUS.—Glory, glory, hallelujah, etc.

In the beauty of the lilies Christ was born across the sea,
With a glory in his bosom that transfigures you and me;
As he died to make men holy, let us die to make men free,
While God is marching on.

CHORUS.—Glory, glory, hallelujah, etc.

SPEECH OF REV. O. B. FROTHINGHAM.

Rev. O. B. FROTHINGHAM said: The song that has just been sung contained the first genuine burst of enthusiasm that I have heard in the hall this morning. That was magnificent. That spoke to the soul as it came from the soul. I cannot accept this small and scattered meeting this morning as giving any expression to the heartfelt feeling that characterizes this time. This hall would not hold them. No hall in the city would hold them. No hall in the country would hold the people, men and women, white and black, who would come together spontaneously if they could but express what was in their hearts at this time. The hearts themselves are not large enough to hold the emotions. The truth is that the time is too much charged with excitement for words. The crisis is too significant to find expression in any mortal speech. The past and the future are too big with momentous issues for any one of us to venture to interpret it.

For my part I thank God and man. I thank man when I thank God, and I thank God when I thank man. (Applause). The only God that I know is a God who lives in humanity. The only living God that I know is the God whose heart throbs in history. The only indwelling God that I know is the God who makes his shrine in earnest men and women. And when I see, all through the track of the past generation, and far back of that through the generations that have gone long before, how men and women have sprung up as if a spark from heaven had fallen into their hearts,—how they have stood upon their feet and given voice to thoughts that were greater than that they had before entertained—in all that, I see a working God, a living God. I see it in the press, in the pulpit, in the activities of man, this living presence, this inevitable but lovely law, impelling us, leading us, compelling us to do our best.

The merit of this Society has been that it foresaw the secret of the hour, that it felt the spirit of the age. It was not creative. It was receptive. It knew how to respond. These men and women, so faithful, noble, and self-consecrating, have simply repeated the word which the spirit put into their own hearts. Shall we speak of sacrifice? Who knows it? Of hardships? Who has had it to bear? When men and women are engaged in any noble cause, it is such a joy, it so uplifts them, it makes them so forgetful of poverty, and care, and reproach, and shame, that the service of their divine Master is a privilege rather than a burden. It is a freedom, and not a bondage.

It has been a long battle; longer than we are apt to think. The conflict was irrepressible before we saw it. In our own memory how many battles there have been. First, see the war of slavery itself, a war in the heart of our civilization, race against race. Then came the war of words and opinions, the war of sentiments. This was followed by a war of policy; different political parties organizing themselves each by its own ideas and this was succeeded by a war of armies; and we all bear the scars of that in our hearts. And now that phase is ended, and the war of peace begins; the war of civilization, of industry, of philanthropy, of labor, of mutual action and reaction, of social influence,—all these coming up to cover over the grave with flowers, to sanctify grateful memories, to inaugurate a new future that is to be labor, progress, education, temperance, self-respect, love for man, justice and brotherly kindness.

The Proclamation of Emancipation issued by President LINCOLN abolished an institution. The institution of slavery ceased to exist then. The system of slavery remained as it was. Slavery was ingrained into the hearts of the people, and as yet no organic law had laid it under the ban. The Fifteenth Amendment is the last crowning work. It puts Anti-Slavery into the heart of the government. It seats Anti-Slavery in the chair of the White House. It puts it at the head of the bureaus of the government. It sends it to Congress with every Senator and every Representative. It puts it into the heart of the people. It makes it a portion of the cardinal law of the land. Now the whole force of the government is on the slave's side. No longer is it a question of State laws, of local prejudices, of incidental customs. The whole central power of the United States stands up and pledges itself to carry out that Proclamation of Emancipation to the letter, pledges the army and navy of the United States, pledges all the official influences, and all the power of the United States, to the utter civil and social redemption of the black man.

That is one great step forward in the march of history. It marks a crisis in the progress of the race. Only one more thing remains to do—to do for woman what the Fifteenth Amendment has done for man. (Applause). Then we shall have a Democracy, a government of the people by all the people, and in the interests of all the people. When human nature, not white human nature, but black and white, red and yellow, not Anglo-Saxon, Indian, or African, not masculine nor feminine, but all human nature together, is emancipated and free, to make its own laws, to choose its own rules, to organize its own institutions, to take charge of its own affairs, then and not till then shall we have a Democratic government.

Now what can this Society do more than it has done? Slavery is an institution abolished. The government in its organic law is pledged to the black man, to his civil, social, and political redemption, what more remains to be done? The work passes out of our hands, out of the hands of all ordinary associations of men, and civilization takes it in charge.

This is an hour for jubilee. We are here to congratulate the world. This is a time for felicitation, and not for complaint. We will have no dismal foreboding. Industry has begun its work in the Southern fields. Northern capital is going down there. The land is being opened to all cultivators. The black man will have his chance in the labor market, and his value will be felt. The enormous power of wealth is on his side. It is going down there as fast as it is protected. The land will be reclaimed. The resources of the country will be developed. The mines will be opened; canals will be dug; railways will spread all over the country. The black man will hold property; will have his right to the land; will bind himself down to it by his labor.

Education has gone there already. Thousands and thousands of schools cover the Southern country. The Southern States are welcoming education. They feel that democracy is impossible, that a republican form of government is out of the question, while men are ignorant. There is no such thing possible as a degraded republic, a stupid or an inert democracy. Every man and every woman must have a mind as well as a body, a pair of feet, and a pair of hands. There must be a brain, and an educated one. The politicians feel it. And so the cause of education is bound to go on, more and more expeditiously, all through the South, until the privileges of the black man are as great as are those of the white man.

And now the black man must take care of himself. It is for him to say that he will accept the occasion, welcome the privilege, be grateful for the opportunity. Let him now do his part. Let him make himself respected. Let him be temperate; for a drunken democracy goes speedily to its grave. Let him be considerate of the rights of others, while maintaining his own. Let the past be wiped out. Let there be no more remembrance of bitterness. Let them look forward bravely and courageously, and their future is in their own hands. In twenty-five years more they may have all parties and conditions of men in alliance with them.

It was my great pleasure yesterday to see that procession of blacks passing down Madison Avenue. First came a double file of police, strong and sturdy. Those very men whom I had so often seen leagued against the black man, now walked with stately step as if the lords of creation were moving behind. The banners greeted the sweet air of that Spring day as gladly as if borne in the hands of victorious soldiers. German bands were playing their finest music for them. There were barouches filled with gray-headed men, Simeons waiting to see this day. And there were in the ranks, workingmen with soiled shoes and old caps, but with eyes in which glowed the light of a new day. I could not help thinking of the day when ANTHONY BURNS was carried out of Boston. The power of the United States which was then put forth to carry that man back to slavery, is now the protection of the black man, as of every one of us, henceforth and forever.

STEPHEN S. FOSTER would have felt at home if it was to fight a battle, but was unused to the department suitable for triumph. He was not quite certain that he ought to rejoice. He found that the New York *Herald* was anxious that the Society should be dissolved, and he would like to know the reason, before he acquiesed in the dissolution of the Society. He could see looming up in the future a great work to be done. The liberty of the negro was as yet but a liberty of the law, not yet written in the hearts of men. His freedom is the result of military necessity. His enfranchisement is the result of party necessity. We have had experience of liberty written only in law. The laws of prohibition in Massachusetts have become a dead letter upon the statute-book. Of what use is the statute when the law is not enforced? If the ballot was given to the negro only from party necessity, he had little security for the future. He felt that the object to-day was to dissolve the Anti-Slavery Society in form and not in fact; to continue the battle under new forms. The negro has not yet been given a homestead, without which he could not be free to vote. We should resolve never to lay aside our armor until the negro as well as the white man has the land upon which he can exercise an independent vote. The owners of the land at the South are now so few that they can combine, and shut out the landless negroes from the means of support, unless they vote as they shall dictate. He warned the Society that unless land should be given to them, that very race which had preserved the Union, would yet, even in our own day, bring about its dissolution. The monopoly of the soil must be broken up, or all that we have done will be in vain. The negro is the victim of years of plunder, and must have the means of providing for himself, before he is left to himself.

Continued on Second Page.

plause). There is no mustering out in this warfare. That day will never come. But opening before us are the Alps of all these great new questions. We have abolished the negro, as HENRY WRIGHT said this afternoon, in politics. But we have yet to reconcile the self-conceit of the SAXON race with the neighborhood of the negro. Nothing was ever so insipid and disgusting to me as to walk up and down New York streets, where every man was white, and all looked as if they came out of the same bandbox. When you walk the streets of Leghorn, you see all races and nationalities; and that broad toleration is the beauty of European streets. What I want in the future is a more broad and tolerant civilization. I want the hand of the Lord to shake this pale race of ours out of its self-conceit. I think I never blushed in the North more than when they showed me in Milwaukie the empty house of an Englishman who had married an Asiatic wife. At the point of death she said, "Burn my body, as my fathers have been burned for a thousand years." The fond husband built the funeral pile in his own garden, and was abou to comply with the last prayer of his wife, when a narrow-minded mob, thinking they were Christians, burst into the enclosure, took out the sacred dust, and buried it according to their own narrow creed. And the disgusted Cosmopolitan left his property and plunged again into the broad civilization of Europe. God bless him as he goes!

The crusade of the future is the contest with the spirit of caste. LUCRETIA MOTT alluded to the Indians. I blush in the presence of the Indians. I only know the names of three savages upon the plains.—Col. BAKER, Gen. CUSTER, and at the head of all, Gen. SHERIDAN. (Applause.) They are the men that shoot women by mistake. They are the men that sacrifice children in the hurry of warfare. Then they undertake to tell us that it is necessary for us to bring down our civilization to what they call the level of Indian warfare in order to be efficient. What is the use of civilization, with its wonderful resources, if it cannot defend itself against the naked and ignorant savage by some kind of warfare better than that to which his necessities compel him? Thank God for a President in the White House whose first word was for the negro, and the second for the Indian; (applause). Who saw protection for the Indian, not in the rude and blood-thirsty policy of Sheridan and Sherman, but in the ballot, in citizenship the great panacea that has always protected the rights of Saxon individuals.

Then there are the Chinese. The surplus of one little island, seven millions strong, upsets and controls our politics. Irishmen have again and again clutched victory out of the hands of loyalty. What will the surplus of four hundred millions of Chinese, floating upon our prairies, do in time to come? Young men, do not imagine that the age of heroism and of martyrdom is over; that there are to be no more mobs. I tell you that the Saxon and the negro, facing John Chinamen, will produce thirty years as tumultuous as those we have just survived. What we have to do is to lift American Statesmanship and American Christianity to the level of ignoring race. The great strain upon republican institutions is yet to come. The negro was linked with us in religious associations; but John Chinaman is a pagan. He is of no docile race like the black. Two thousand years of misrule and a thousand years of despotism have rolled over him, and ever above the subsiding wave reappears the unchanging type of the Chinese. With that race we are to come in conflict, immortal, aggressive as ourselves. The very report of their coming has already frightened half of your Republican Senate out of their faith in universal suffrage.

These are the future labors to which you are summoned. Do not imagine that you have yet a right to take off the harness. The experiment of civil liberty is in your hands. It is a mystery how we succeeded in the rebellion. To-day, Horace Greeley sends his amnesty down to Georgia to encourage the white race to throw twenty members out of the Legislature. I wonder how, with that party and that journal as our leader, we ever conquered. Thank the devil and ANDREW JOHNSON? Oh, no; thank a nearer neighbor, whose windows look to the Astor House across the rising windows of the Post-Office. See the madness, the impudence, the defiance of the South. Would to God that in her madness she would resist to-day, and lay her mailed hand against the Fifteenth Amendment; because if the North ever goes to the South again, it will sweep into the grave every rebel from here to Mexico. Do you think that an intolerable sentiment? I heard in 1862, from the lips of EDWARD EVERETT, that if ANDREW JACKSON had hung JOHN C. CALHOUN there never would have been a rebellion. Would to God we might commit no such second mistake. If EDWARD EVERETT could wish one man killed, it is safe to say that a decided man with his eyes wide open, ought to wish for at least a thousand.

But I have no power to make a speech. What we have to do is to make our flag mean something. I am going to be mustered out; but I have a substitute here who consents to take my place, and to supplement these discordant notes with the poetry of GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS and the melody of her own voice.

Mrs. CLYMER recited CURTIS's Address to the American Flag.

REMARKS BY FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS thought it was too late to inflict a speech upon an audience which had already heard more than they could remember. He had no fear from the influx of the followers of Confucius. He was inclined to think they would be rather a benefit to us than an injury. They are a patient industrious people, remarkably gentle and inoffensive, and though they should come as the waves come, we have a deeply-rooted indigenous civilization, an American spirit brooding over every inch of our Territory, continually reinforced by Caucasian importations from Europe; we have institutions; school-houses, presses, to light the pathway of the future. We have nothing to fear. Possession is nine points in the law. We run this machine—you and I. (Applause). They come to us in their weakness and meet us in our strength. They are learning our ideas, our manners and methods; and if we are of the right spirit we shall mould not only the Ethiopian but the Mongolian into true Americans. We will mould them all into Americans—let them come. The mission of this country is to establish a cosmopolitan nation, the grandest and most comprehensive illustration of the unity of the human race the world has ever seen. It is for us to determine whether their coming here shall be a blessing or otherwise. He was very glad for the black man that he had got the inside track just now. (Applause).

THEODORE TILTON had had no need to "cudgel his brain" for a reminiscence. In the city of Richmond, his attention was attracted by a sound, "going, going," and then he saw a woman on the auction block with her three children, who were sold to four different States of the Union, and the American flag looked down upon it. At that time he had sworn an oath to devote his life to nothing but the abolition of slavery. After the war, he stood by the side of Gen. ANDERSON and helped hoist the flag upon Sumter, and then he remembered the scene of his earliest manhood. The flag of the Republic fell to the earth, to reach the level of the despised and downtrodden, and when again raised, it lifted all to a common level. (Applause).

The hour being now late, the meeting adjourned.

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

PLEDGES REDEEMED.

Edward Earle,	Worcester, Mass.,	$25.00
Dr. J. Sargent,	do. "	20.00
S. D. Tourtellot,	" "	10.00
George L. Clark,	Providence, R. I.	10.00

DONATIONS.

Timothy S. Stone,	Worcester,	5.00
M. H. Morse,	do,	5.00
S. H. Colton,	"	5.00

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, APRIL 16, 1870.

REMOVAL.

THE office of THE STANDARD will be removed, May 1st, to new and eligible quarters at No. 696 BROADWAY, corner of Fourth street. Its rooms will also be the office of THE REFORM LEAGUE of this city.

PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THE final meeting of the PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCITY will be held on Thursday Evening, May 5th, in Horticultural Hall, Philadelphia. Many distinguished speakers will be present, and the occasion will be one of deep interest to those who rejoice over the ratification of the great Amendment. A cordial invitation is extended to all who may wish to attend. Additional particulars will be given in the Philadelphia papers.

ROBERT PURVIS, *President.*
MARGARET J. BURLEIGH, *Secretary.*

THE FULFILLMENT OF OUR PLEDGE.

THE purpose and pledge of the Anti-Slavery movement was to secure for the black race equality before the law with other races,—to strike the word "white" from our Laws and Constitutions,—to put the Negro in possession of the same civil and political rights as are enjoyed by other citizens.

The NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY—the parent of all the rest—formed in 1832—stated its object to be, "to effect the Abolition of Slavery in the United States, to improve the character and condition of the free people of color, to inform and correct public opinion in relation to their situation and rights and OBTAIN FOR THEM EQUAL CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES WITH THE WHITES."

The AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, formed in 1833, aimed to secure the Black an "equality with the whites of civil and religious privileges." Its DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS pledged it "to SECURE TO THE COLORED POPULATION of the UNITED STATES ALL THE RIGHTS and PRIVILEGES WHICH BELONG TO THEM AS MEN AND AS AMERICANS."

The ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment accomplishes this purpose and fulfils this pledge. In consequence of social prejudice and of other obstacles the exercise of these rights may be, for a longer or shorter time, neither easy nor wholly safe. But the law recognizes them, and the whole power of the Nation is pledged to the Negro's protection in the exercise of them. He holds at last his sufficient shield in his own hands: that which has always sufficed, in the long run, for the protection of an oppressed class. Thwarted at one moment, bullied or starved at another, the voter, if true to himself, always conquers and dictates his own fate and position in the end. Though this Constitutional Amendment does not cover all it ought, in present circumstances,—still it contains within itself the cure for its own defects. A man with the ballot in his hand is the master of the situation. He defines all his other rights. What is not already given him, he takes. As soon as the negro holds the ballot at the South, whatever he suffers will be largely now, and in future wholly, his own fault. At present, the anarchy in those States, the rule of assassins, social prejudice, his own poverty, ignorance and lack of combination will postpone the full use of his power; but, in the end, the ballot makes every class sovereign over its own fate. Corruption may steal from a man his independence, Capital may starve and intrigue fetter him at times. But against all these his vote, intelligently and honestly cast, is, in the long run, his full protection. If in the struggle his fort surrenders, it is only because it is betrayed from within. No power ever permanently wronged a voting class without its own consent.

To-day, therefore, the Anti-Slavery movement may fairly leave its client to the broad influences of civilization and society. The AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY may dissolve, or adjourn indefinitely, only to be called together in case of some unexpected emergency.

No description can do justice to the wonderful influence—the far-reaching results of the Anti-Slavery movement, here and in Europe, since CLARKSON started it. Hardly anything in history surpasses it. We are not yet distant enough to measure the majestic sweep of this marvellous power. Its influence on Biblical criticism,—on the study of races,—on questions of Constitutional and International Law,—in promoting a deeper study of History, of the duties of a citizen and his relation to Government and Law,—in rousing the Church from its long sleep and broadening its idea of its own function,—on the study of Ethics,—in the development of Democratic Institutions, and recognizing the rights of the masses,—in drawing attention to the rights of Woman and hastening their recognition—its influence in all these channels only future History can fitly measure.

The results of the movement in this country have been as great as anywhere else. But though thoughtful men did not doubt the effect, there was, before 1861, no trustworthy test of its full measure. We had seen the movement break great parties to pieces, tear asunder powerful sects, destroy colossal reputations, abasing the proud and lifting up the humble and making the whole land heave with angry convulsion. Still beyond a leavening of public sentiment, a few changes in State Law, and one or two triumphs in party politics more than balanced, apparently, by gain on the opposite side, we had no palpable results, no milestones to mark its progress. Indeed sometimes it seemed as if the Slave Power grew faster than its opponent. In 1861 the most sanguine were surprised at the loyal readiness of the masses.

So good a judge as Mr. Lincoln did not dare to rest any measure on the strength of an Anti-Slavery purpose in the people. At first he hardly dared to risk Emancipation, even as a war measure. Until 1863 he thought it necessary, in view of popular prejudice, to offer to accept the Union with slavery or without, as the rebels preferred. Events have showed that he miscalculated; that he might have relied more on the Anti-Slavery conscience of the people. But the mistake of a judge, so fair-minded as he, is very suggestive as showing how unable we were then to estimate the effects of Anti-Slavery labor. The ploughshare of that reform had been much more deep, wide and thorough than we dared to hope. It had not reeducated the people but it had fully prepared them for the stern lessons of the war and made them apt learners. That teaching has set the seal to the effort and swept from American Law the odious distinction of race. In the catalogue of great popular movements among men of Saxon blood, no one, except the Protestant Reformation, can claim to stand by the the side of this when measured by beneficial and permanent results. Its triumph marks a sublime epoch in our history.

The occasion naturally brings to mind the difference of opinion in our ranks in May 1865; when some thought that the state of public affairs would justify a dissolution of the Society. A glance at the course of events since that date will show, we think, how wise was the resolution of the Society to continue its organized work.

No one among us doubted the right of the Negro to suffrage. No one denied its grave importance to him. To have left him without its protection in a land where every other man votes, would have been most perilous. We all agreed that his freedom in such circumstances would have been almost a mockery. The only difference of opinion was whether it was necessary to insist on the recognition of his right to suffrage before any rebel State was admitted to the Union, or whether the rebels themselves, readmitted to the Union, could safely be left to decide if the negro should vote or not in their States. And again, whether if the first alternative was to be insisted on, our remaining together would contribute toward securing that result.

Probably no American, at this hour, looking back on the last five years, would deny that to have left rebels to settle the question of a negro's voting, would have been madness, and a total surrender of that race into the hands of its enraged masters.

Yet in 1865 and 1866 that was the avowed policy even of the Republican leaders at the North. Just before his death, in April, 1865, Mr. Lincoln urged the admission of Louisiana on this plan—leaving the Negro's civil and political rights to be settled by his late master. Most earnestly did Mr. Lincoln press this policy upon Congress. At the same time, *The Liberator*, the leader of the Abolitionists, advocated such an admission of Louisiana, and would hardly allow any criticism of Gen. Banks' system of negro-serfdom and apprenticeship there. Of course a large and influential portion of the Republican press supported the plan. Meanwhile the majority of the Senate seemed to favor it. Mr. Sumner prevented the admission of that State by talking against time and using, then only in his life, all the obstructive machinery of parliamentary law. No scene in American Parliamentary history so closely resembles the younger PITT struggling, almost single-handed, during those grand seventy days, against Fox and the Coalition, as SUMNER and his half-score of comrades in our Senate Chamber checkmating President and Senate, and saving the Loyal cause. Such a scene was proof enough of the critical and confused state of public opinion, rendering it indispensable to press into service and save all means fitted to hold the Nation back from such a fatal and irretraceable step.

Then to show still further the indecisive and halting state of public purpose on such a vital point, the people of Connecticut in October, 1865, while choosing a Republican Governor, voted down a proposition to give the Negro a vote. Wisconsin and Minnesota followed her example the next month.

Repeatedly as the subject was brought to their attention in 1864, 1865 and 1866, still down to December, 1866, both Houses of Congress steadily refused to grant suffrage to the Negro, even where they exercise exclusive legislation; as in the District of Columbia and the Territories, as Idaho, for instance. Roused by Johnson's treason, Congress granted suffrage to the Negro in the District of Columbia, in January, 1867, and secured it to him in the new State of Nebraska about the same time. Still, Ohio, a Republican State, in October, 1867, voted down an Amendment to her Constitution giving the blacks suffrage, and in November, the States of Kansas and Minnesota, both Republican States, followed the example of Ohio.

Above all, in that year 1865, began the weary night of Johnson's treason. For a time the result hung doubtful. His attempt to readmit the Rebel States without waiting for a Constitutional recognition of even the citizenship of the Negro, seemed at one time likely to succeed.

The last half of 1865 and the first of 1866, may justly be termed the darkest hours of the Rebellion. The hot enthusiasm of battle was over. Mens' minds were weary and confused. Old prejudices began to revive. There was no doubt that the loyal North disavowed Johnson. But it was for some time matter of grave doubt whether it could be rallied unanimously and promptly enough to prevent fatal steps, which once taken could never be retraced. The immediate and overwhelming influence of the Executive was brought to bear with success in many quarters. Beside this, the surrender of forfeited estates to their former and rebel owners—the wholesale pardon of rebels, and other similar acts were productive of most disastrous consequences, and once done no power could recall them. Slowly, with hesitation and much conflict of opinion, the North roused itself for this second battle. The Rebel Convention of August, 1866, in Philadelphia, will be remembered, which drew into its ranks even the Chairman of the National Republican Committee, Mr. Raymond, with other prominent members of the party. It is almost too kind a construction to say of the conduct of such a Republican leader as Senator Fessenden of Maine, that he *hesitated* between loyalty and Johnson.

Even when, in that same summer of 1866, the loyal Convention assembled in Philadelphia, the leading men from the North went there not bold nor decided enough to pledge the party to Negro Suffrage; indeed some State delegations had about resolved beforehand to oppose it. The almost tearful demand of the Southern members alone roused their Northern friends to that level.

When the Fourteenth Amendment,—proposed in June, 1866, ratified in July, 1868, securing only civil rights to the Negro,—was under discussion, the Debate showed that it was impossible to lift the Republican party or Congress to the point of suffrage. Civil rights were all they were ready to guarantee. Even that half-way Amendment was with some difficulty secured.

The late debate, between Senators Sumner and Trumbull, has revealed the fact that, as late as the Reconstruction Act of March, 1867, the committee of Republican Senators voted down a provision to give the negro suffrage; that a few radicals in that body were obliged to fight for it against some of the strongest men in the party, and that it passed only by two votes in the caucus.

Meanwhile as events rolled on, Texas was a field of blood—Tennessee was anarchy, Kentucky in civil war. Those were the dark days when the Secretary of War dared not leave his office day or night, fortified there against a traitor in the White House—those were the days when Congress feared to adjourn. Day by day it shrank from admitting States into the Union which showed that the rebellion within their borders was still unsubdued. Even when half admitted, Georgia flung defiance at the Nation and broke all her pledges by expelling every negro from her Legislature, and thus compelled Congress to remand her into military rule!

To-day, Tennessee Senators and her Republican leaders urge that the State be remanded to military rule,—while Congress hesitates as to the policy which the condition of Georgia demands, and in Louisiana, Texas and North Carolina and Georgia the presence of United States troops is necessary to protect the lives of loyal men and keep the peace.

When in May, 1868, the platform of the Republican party approved of suffrage for the negro in the rebel States; leaving the North to give it or not as she chose, Grant's majority, in the fall of that year, was only three hundred thousand in a total vote of five and a half millions; and such is our electing plan that the change of thirty thousand votes would have put the rebel candidate, Seymour, into the White House. Indeed very few men will doubt that if Mr. Chase had been nominated on a platform which stopped at the Fourteenth Amendment—giving the negroes civil rights without suffrage—he would have been triumphantly elected over Gen. Grant.

Is this the picture of a South fit to be trusted to decide whether the Negro shall vote? Is this the picture of a North so clear in its views, so decided in its purpose to protect the black race with the ballot, that Abolitionists needed not further concern themselves by any *organised* effort to help that race to its rights? Is this a North from which it would have been safe to withdraw any influence, however slight, to lead it to a right decision?

Only after repeated attempts to avoid this great duty has the Nation been willing to bow to the plain necessity of its situation. Only after every other plan had failed and difficulties thickened round us, have we been willing to accept this basis of impartial liberty. Five years have elapsed since Lincoln's death. It has taken this long time and much bitter experience to show us the folly of the half-way reconstruction which his undue tenderness for and confidence in the South led him to favor.

No one then will deny that the condition of the black race was perilous and uncertain in 1865; that much needed to be done and has since been done with terrible loss and great labor. Have we, has our organization, contributed anything to this great change? The best of the Republican leaders have again and again testified to the value and the need of such an organization as ours; confessed that its existence and labors strengthened them inside their party—and that the radical element there owed much of its success to the pressure brought to bear on its ranks by our testimony. Never, for thirty years, has THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD been more closely watched or more widely copied. In the columns of the New York journals and of a hundred others, its protests have reached often a million of readers. Almost every week, during the last four years, the leading journals, all over the Nation, have quoted its opinions. It is safe to say that its influence has been three-fold what it ever was before, owing wholly to the fact that events gave terrible significance to our warnings. Whenever the Congressional history of the Fifteenth Amendment is fully written, it will be seen that THE STANDARD's influence in removing some of the obstacles to its prompt adoption was very marked.

It is manifest from the glance we have made at the condition of affairs in 1865 and 1866, that the journals and leaders of the Republican party were no more ready at that time to claim suffrage for the Negro than their fathers were to claim his liberty in 1845. If an Anti-Slavery Society was needed in 1845 to rouse and educate the people, to watch and urge forward their leaders toward emancipation, such an organization was just as much needed in 1865, to argue the claim for suffrage and to make the Nation willing to do its duty on this point.

Any suggestions, any line of argument which would excuse Abolitionists from organized effort in these last years, will prove that their holding themselves together, twenty-five years ago, was unnecessary and superfluous effort; an interference with the ordinary educators and leaders of the people which there was no emergency to justify.

Had the whole body of Abolitionists remained together, their influence in hastening and perfecting reconstruction, saving the Negro from suffering and the country from bloodshed and loss, would have outrun the most sanguine imagination. To have disbanded in 1865, events have shown us, would have been most disastrous.

Belittle the influence of the Anti-Slavery Society as much as you will, still in that dark night of 1865 and 1866 and 1867 the issues were too grave, the odds too unequal, the hour too perilous to allow us to withdraw any weight, however slight, which could help hold the country back from fatal mistakes. Not unexpectedly to be sure, but still only after most devoted, persistent and united effort, at great cost, and with excessive toil through such scenes as the assassination of Lincoln, the savage and brutal riots of New Orleans, the murders of Tennessee and Texas, the infamy of the President's journey to Chicago, the impudence and undying hate of the rebels of Georgia—has the Nation at last reached this goal. What the result might have been had the elements of the problem been changed, of course, no man can say. In any event, in any circumstances, the Nation might have triumphed. But we have the satisfaction of knowing that toward a result which has cost great sacrifices, been often in doubt, and sometimes so much in peril that even sanguine men doubted whether it would not be postponed for a generation,—toward such a result we have done our utmost personally and by *union;* by every new device and by keeping at our mast-head the old flag, constantly to warn our opponents that eyes whose watch had done so much to lift the Republican party to its best level, were still wide open, and to remind our friends also that the old "cause" needed and expected "every man to do his duty."

We have a right then, as a Society, to rejoice in the present condition of the Negro's cause. We have seen one rebel State after another half reconstructed, and then dashed to pieces by the indignation of the North. By dint of keeping the question open,—a result to which our unintermitted demand of suffrage largely contributed,—we have seen the misconduct of the South educate and rouse the North to its duty and the necessity of the hour; fortunately before it was too late to retrace its heedless steps. We have the satisfaction of having held up—a hundred-fold more than we could have done individually—the hands of the dozen men, in Senate and House, whose unflinching purpose and vigilant watch have saved the Negro in spite of the weariness, the petty jealousies, the narrow technicalities, the ignorance, the prejudice, and the treason of their party fellows. We have seen the Dred Scott decision set aside and the Negro's citizenship incorporated into the Constitution. We have seen his right to State office vindicated at the point of the bayonet. We have seen him preside over State Senates and take his place on the Supreme Bench of one of the original thirteen States. We have seen a Negro fill the Senatorial chair at Washington left vacant by the chief of the Rebel Confederacy. The hitherto partial law has resumed its sacred fillet and blindfold can no longer distinguish black from white.

At length, panoplied in all the rights of citizenship, the Negro stands under a Constitution which knows nothing of race, and for the first time in our history we can read without a blush our fathers' sublime declaration, that all men are created equal As we look back to the perils through which the path has led up to this august goal, we can have the satisfaction of knowing that no hesitation or mistake of ours increased those dangers or prolonged them one single instant. But that, on the contrary, straining every nerve, pressing into service every instrumentality, saving every tool that had in any hour availed our clients we have contributed our utmost toward making the Nation adopt the pledge of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY and bind itself to protect our clients IN "ALL THE RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES WHICH BELONG TO THEM AS MEN AND AS AMERICANS."

Of course, in spite of this pledge, the negro, like every race just struggling into complete recognition, still needs the special sympathy and help of his friends. To be sure the great elements of political security and of industrial protection are on his side. Already the Southerners tremble when they see any thing tempt *labor* away from them. They see that a population tests the value of land and the possibility of growth. The Ocean States are even now alarmed by the increasing emigration of black labor toward the valley of the Mississippi. On this alarm rests the Negro's safety. States begin to compete with each other in tempting him by good treatment to remain within their limits.

Then the vote is a mighty bulwark. The Irish race among us still occupies, mostly, a humble place; is rarely defended by the possession of large wealth or by social position. But where does a politician dare to soil his lips with that name of contempt which used to be flung at the Irish? No, the class, a large one, has a vote; and ambitious men hunt up or invent any link which connects them with Erin. The day is close at hand, when Americans will shrink just as carefully from spelling negro with two g's. How much was made out of Gen. Jackson's Irish descent? We may yet live to see the day when a Presidential Candidate will boast his share of negro blood.

These two are chief among the strong forces which will cover the Black with an ample shield and secure him the fairest opportunity. Ploughing its laborious, but no longer doubtful, course through heavy seas, the bark of that race nears a safe harbor.

Meanwhile, in his transition, he needs counsel, aid, education, land. Our long crusade for him is not therefore really and fully ended. We may break up our ranks, but we may not yet dismiss our care nor lessen our interest.

While this generation lasts it is probable the negro will need the special sympathy of his friends. The victim of cruel prejudice, of long disfranchisement, of accumulated wrongs, debarred for centuries, not only from book education but from that better education of business and social life, he must long struggle under heavy disadvantages. Hitherto he has more than redeemed all we pledged him for; has far outrun the most sanguine hopes of us all. God has made him the cornerstone on which alone the Nation's safety could rest. With fearful exactness this stone which the builders rejected became the head of the corner. Stripped and plundered, God put it into his power to pay us back, by the very intellectual light and moral strength which the movement in his behalf gave to us, far more than we ever sacrificed for him. And now, under that same Providence, we owe him victory. The heavy debt of centuries is doubled. Bankrupt debtors we grant him nothing:—we admit him to nothing. Penitent for a guilty past, grateful for a triumphant and undeserved present, we welcome a wronged equal to the full enjoyment of a Nationality and a civilization which, under God, mysteriously, he has done more to save and perfect than we have. Far deeper than our fathers thought was the sublime truth, to which they rendered only lip service, that ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

THE STANDARD—OLD AND NEW SERIES.

THE present will be the last issue of the NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD. Established thirty years ago to promote the abolition of slavery, and to secure equal rights for the colored people of this country, it ceases to-day, after witnessing the overthrow of chattelism, and the enfranchisement of the hitherto enslaved upon equal terms with the white citizens of the Republic. Four years ago we were invited to its editorial charge. During this period many important chapters have been added to American history. Some are bright and pleasant to recur to. Others are ignoble. Reconstruction we cannot yet pronounce a success. Wherein it is manifestly defective, it fails because such counsel as THE STANDARD proffered and urged, those in authority refused to act upon. The prompt impeachment of Andrew Johnson, when his intent to betray the nation became apparent, would have spared thousands of lives of loyal men and women, would have saved millions of treasure, and made possible the beginning of an era of true and abiding peace. That era has not yet dawned. Within two months, more troops have been called for from various portions of the South than the National government could at once supply. That the Tennessee traitor was allowed to prolong rebellion and misrule throughout the South, to strengthen the rebellious party of the North, and himself to go out of office without the mark of Cain upon upon his forehead, was, we are glad now to remember, no fault of THE STANDARD.

Another measure urged in these columns, the failure of which will go far to explain the still prevalent terrorism and anarchy from which the loyal people of the South continue greatly to suffer, was CONFISCATION. Who cannot see to-day that, though the hour for such a measure has passed, its adoption four years ago, by breaking the power of the rebellious land monopolists, and providing the loyal, landless freed people and poor whites, with homesteads, would have been fraught with real blessings to all classes in the South? It would have hastened the period of true peace and of a genuine, healthy prosperity. We would have had anticipated, by the direct interposition of Congress, at an earlier period, the enfranchisement of the colored citizens of the country. It is at last reached by the slower process of the Fifteenth Amendment. What might have been better done under an indefinite period of territorial rule for the rebellious districts of the South, for the encouragement and protection of loyalty and impartial freedom, may and must now be done by Congress, and the Executive, under the new constitutional powers conferred by the provisions for the enforcement of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. To this end those who were of the Anti-Slavery advance guard must continue to address themselves. Their warnings and watchful vigilance, the "amnesty," and reactionary politicians, and a selfish, indifferent and conscienceless popular church and priesthood can ill afford yet to dispense with.

We rejoice more than words can express at the magnitude of the victory achieved. The vantage ground gained is important beyond computation. In the letter of the law our clients, the colored people, are vindicated. It must, however, still be our conscientious mission to work for the moral regeneration of the nation and the eradication of the caste spirit, until society, hotels, colleges, schools and churches shall become as catholic as the Senate Chamber on the subject of color. Nor will the ideal Republic have been attained until women are enfranchised; and the Indian, Chinaman, and whoever else may seek it, shall have been cordially welcomed to citizenship.

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THE STANDARD, for May, number one, volume one of the New Series, will be issued April 30th. It is deemed best to issue the new series as a monthly, somewhat larger in size of page then *Blackwood's Magazine*, instead of a quarto weekly. WENDELL PHILLIPS, FOR THE ENSUING YEAR, WILL WRITE FOR EVERY NUMBER. THE STANDARD will be handsomely printed, and be presented in a much better form for binding and preservation than hitherto. It will make two volumes, during the year, of over four hundred pages each; and for binding and the library will be worth at the end of the year, with an article in each number from Mr. PHILLIPS, beside other contributions of rare value, more than the yearly subscription price, which will remain the same as hitherto, three dollars. THE STANDARD for May will contain an article by WENDELL PHILLIPS, on "The New Powers of Congress under the Constitutional Amendments;" one by LYDIA MARIA CHILD, on "The INDIANS;" one by the Hon. GEORGE W. JULIAN, on "Land and Homesteads;" another on "The Labor Question," by R. W. HUME; on "Temperance," by ELIZABETH M. POWELL; one (probably) on "The Sixteenth Amendment," by MARY GREW, President of the Pennsylvania Woman Suffrage Association; "Birth Days," a poem by Rev. JOHN T. SARGENT; "Friends Among the Indians," a letter from the Omaha Agency, by Dr. EDWARD PAINTER; a synopsis of a paper entitled "Limitations," read by Mrs. JULIA WARD HOWE before the Boston Radical Club, and of the subsequent Conversation; and a synopsis of a paper, by Col. T. W. Higginson entitled "Literature in a Republic," given before the Brooklyn Woman's Club, and the Woman's Club of Boston. The May number will also contain choice literary selections; "Boston Sketches;" "Philadelphia Sketches;" and "Sketches from Washington," by our former correspondents; together with other valuable and interesting matter. Though less frequent, our readers may be fully assured that THE STANDARD's visits will not be less welcome than hitherto. We are cheered by many expressions of hearty interest and cordial good will. All the subscribers to THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD will be furnished with THE STANDARD; and we cordially invite the renewal of all, and the name of one or more new subscribers, from all such as are willing to lend coöperation in the good work to which it is to be dedicated. All hail! the new duties and responsibilities to which past victories introduce us.

COMMEMORATIVE MEETING.

Continued from First Page.

with her work on "Immediate, not gradual Emancipation." The old abolitionists of Pennsylvania had formed a Society with FRANKLIN at its head, the object of which was "to protect the rights of those unlawfully seized and held in bondage, as well as to promote the best interests of the colored people around us;" but this was of little avail, when slavery was legalized. The abolition of slavery in the West Indies grew out of ELIZABETH HEYRICK'S book; and she mentioned it the more because she was a woman. At that time BENJAMIN LUNDY was Editor of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation;* and he took a copy of that book to WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON who resolved thenceforth to devote his labors to that great work. She hoped that there would be prepared a history of the progress of the movement from its inception to its consummation. It seemed fitting, on an occasion like this, to make some allusion to the steps by which we have reached this great event.

REMARKS BY CHARLES C. BURLEIGH.

If I could give voice to the feeling which is in my heart, I know not whether it would be a voice of gladness or of sadness. If we think only of ourselves and of our companions in this great work, the finishing of which we come to commemorate, I know not but we might indeed be oppressed with a sense of sadness, were it not that we believe in the immortality of that spirit which has been acting in the form of our organization; that we believe in a metempsychosis which will manifest that spirit acting in other forms in the years to come. We who have been standing together in this conflict of more than thirty years; we who have together paused at times to drop a hasty tear over the form of a fallen comrade only to gather up the strength that seemed to emanate from the spirit that left that form, and to push forward to new struggles and achievements, are not to leave the field of reform and the contest for human progress when we separate here. The spirit that has achieved the deliverance of the slave shall yet achieve the enfranchisement of woman, the abolition of caste, the triumph of the great principle of the sanctity and supremacy of simple manhood irrespective of accidents and appurtenances. Therefore the sadness of parting is allayed by the confident hope of reunion. The funeral anthem over the death of the expiring Society swells out into a peal of joyous anticipation of the coming of that glad day for whose dawn this organization has been laboring.

Nor can we on such a day as this fail to remember those whose bodily presence among us would be so grateful, but who can only look down upon us from that higher sphere to which they have gone. I will not say to reap their reward for labor here, but for nobler and more efficient labor there. We remember those men and women who consecrated their time and talents and substance in our cause. I look to those granite peaks, from which I can almost believe gazes upon us the spirit of ROGERS, who gave his genius, professional ability and social influence to the emancipation of the enslaved in every respect. I remember the WINSLOWS, the DENNETTS, the PARKERS, the JACKSONS, and many others, the mention of whose names is unnecessary in addressing an assembly in whose hearts their memories are consecrated. And may I say that though they are not with us in the body we can feel their presence as certainly as if their hands could still grasp ours.

"Is it a dream that such as these look down,
And with their blessing our rejoicing crown?"

As I listened to the missives which have come to us, greetings from Congressmen, Vice-Presidents, Secretaries of State, men eminent in literary and political life, I could but contrast the end with the beginning. Men now greet our triumph, and rejoice in the achievement of that victory which their predecessors endeavored to make impossible. I remember that on the occasion of the burning of Pennsylvania Hall, we had an utterance from one whose words have cheered us to-day; the Poet WHITTIER, who anticipated that though it should stand until its walls should crumble from decay, this struggle would continue until then.

But we to-day, not waiting for the slow crumbling of strong walls, not waiting for the lapse of years, or the life-time of generations, are permitted in the good providence of God to stand together to join in congratulation for the achievements not merely of the work we had then in view, the breaking of the chains of chattel bondage, but the lifting up of the emancipated chattel to be a sharer in the sovereignty of the grandest nation whose destiny is to fill the pages of future history. (Applause).

REMARKS BY HON. GEORGE W. JULIAN.

HON. GEORGE W. JULIAN of Indiana said: I do not remember the time when I was not the friend of impartial freedom and equal rights for all men, and I may add, for all women. (App). I have given the strength of my manhood and the best years of my life, through thick and thin, through good report and through evil report, in that direction. I was so far a fanatic twenty years ago as to defend the Abolitionists of the United States upon the floor of the House of Representatives, against the calumnies of slave-holders who have since gone down under the damnation of history as traitors to the land that gave them birth. (Applause)

We are here this morning to exchange congratulations and rejoicing over a great national event. But in the midst of this rejoicing the sentiment of sadness it seems to me, naturally wells up in the hearts of men. The South of to-day has a striking resemblance to the South of nine years ago. But all our troubles are the legitimate fruits of our own failure at the proper time to do the duty before us. I thought early in the war that Congress ought to confiscate the great landed estates of the rebel leaders, and parcel them out among our soldiers and sailors, of the army and navy, as some little reward for their fidelity, and a fit chastisement of the rebel chiefs. If that duty had been performed we should have been spared the spectacle of to-day in the blasted regions of slavery. I thought also at the end of the war that we should have punished some of the most conspicuous of the rebel leaders. I never demanded vengeance, but I asked for the ordinary administration of justice against most extraordinary national criminals; and it seems to me to-day a pitiable thing that since the close of the war not a man has been punished, confessing to the other nations of the earth that treason is not a crime worthy to be punished. I think we have made another mistake in hurrying these rebel districts back into the Union. I thought they should go through a course of probation and pupilage which would in the course of years have prepared them for admission into the United States. These were miserable mistakes; but we have triumphed over all the mistakes of our civil and military leaders hitherto, and I believe we shall triumph still further. I cannot believe that we shall be permitted now to halt in the grand march of events in which God is so visibly guiding this nation to Liberty.

Mrs. ABBY KELLEY FOSTER referred to the bill introduced by Mr. JULIAN in Congress, giving homesteads to the colored men of the South, making them independent, and enabling them to vote freely and not in subjection to Democratic masters; and expressed her regret that he was not to return to Congress.

Miss MARY GREW, added to the names quoted by Mr. BURLEIGH, that of EVAN LEWIS of Philadelphia, as one of the early friends of the cause, whose lives were not spared to witness the triumph of to-day, and gave a sketch of his efforts in the formation of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society and subsequently of the American Anti-Slavery Society. To those accustomed to labor in the Anti-Slavery cause, and who were accustomed to threats and denunciations, it was strange to hear naught now but greetings and congratulations. In congratulating each other upon the results of our work, it should not be forgotten that whatever offerings we have laid upon the altar, it has blessed us far more than we have blessed it. Although we disband the American Anti-Slavery Society to-day, other fields are white with the harvest, waiting the thrusting in of our sickle to reap, and there we shall labor in faith and in hope until our mission here shall be ended.

Mrs. A. K. FOSTER said that, although slavery had been apparently abolished by the war, it was because slavery had before been attacked in its citadel, and the country had become prepared for its abolition. At the time when the Governor of Georgia offered a reward for the head of WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, he was a young man in a garret who, with a colored boy, were alone carrying on the war against slavery; but "one shall chase a thousand and two put ten thousand to flight," and to-day the work is accomplished. She proceeded to speak of the change which would take place from the disbanding of this Society, with regard to its organ, THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD; that that paper under its present editor would still be devoted to reform, to be known hereafter as THE STANDARD.

Rev. HENRY HIGHLAND GARNETT.—It would be useless for me to deny that I share largely in the feeling pervading this audience to-day, of mingled gratification and regret; gratification that slavery no longer exists; regret that this society is now to be dissolved. I could wish that the Society should continue until not a slave should tread on the soil of the Western Continent, and wherever slavery may exist in the world, until it shall be abolished. I feel as the poet felt when he said, "Woodman, spare that tree, touch not a single bough." I see here to-day some of the same men and women whom I saw upon this platform thirty-three years ago, when I made my maiden speech in this cause. Their hair, then black, is now gray; their forms, then elastic, are now bowed with advancing years. I remember on that occasion that woman's appearing upon the platform was greatly objected to. But one of those who objected took occasion to quote some lines, and suddenly stopped. "Go on," said Mrs. FOSTER, then ABBY KELLEY; but finding that he would not, she finished the quotation:

"When woman's heart is bleeding,
Shall woman's voice be hushed,"—

and that was the last we heard of that objection. (Applause). At that time our friend Mrs. MOTT was in the prime of her womanhood. Mr. DOUGLASS was then a Methodist preacher. Our friend, Mr. PHILLIPS, I do not remember—

Mr. PHILLIPS.—I was in Europe.

Mr. GARNETT.—If he had not been in Europe, he would have been *there.* (Applause). I remember that in early times the Abolitionists were divided as to the measures to be adopted for the overthrow of slavery; some adhering to moral suasion, and others believing that physical force would be necessary; that slavery could not be abolished until it should be washed out with blood, and the slave should himself with the bayonet write his own history in the hearts of this people. It seems that God in his providence has adopted both measures. Now that the last crowning act has been accomplished, the blotting out of the last vestige of slavery from our Constitution, we may well say, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace." (Applause).

Mrs. MOTT remarked that she had always taken pleasure in listening to remarks from ROBERT PURVIS, FREDERICK DOUGLASS, and other half-colored men, but she thought the blacker the speaker the better she liked it. (Laughter and applause.) She believed that the overthrow of slavery had been accomplished, not by carnal weapons, but through moral means which have been mighty through God for the pulling down of the stronghold. She alluded to the discussions by THEODORE D. WELD and others in the Lane Theological Seminary, and the continued agitation which had so instructed the nation that when the rebellion broke out the nation became one great Anti-Slavery Meeting and demanded the Proclamation of Emancipation. And although the nation was long in reaching the full results, we may have strong confidence that Truth is mightier than the sword, and should be careful how we admit that the consummation was through the battle-field.

C. C. BURLEIGH reminded the Society that ABBY KELLEY FOSTER used to warn the people that unless they yielded to the voice of truth, "blood would flow to the horses' bridles." He then related an anecdote of which he had been reminded by the expression of Mrs. MOTT, of a little girl who was called in by her teacher, when she was running on a hot sunny day, "Maria, come in immediately; your face will be scorched black." "I don't care," was the reply, "the blacker I am the better my mother will like me." (Laughter).

EDWARD M. DAVIS said that since 1835 he had been a member of this Society. Looking over the past, he had felt a continual rejoicing rather than solemnity. At one point, he had felt rather solemn, when opportunity was offered for prayer, and there was no response; which, he presumed, grew out of the fact that we had learned to do our praying for ourselves. The course of the Society of late seemed like a sort of Aladdin's lamp. We used to have rows of policemen. It is now turned into bunches of flowers. What poetic justice in replacing Jefferson Davis in the Senate by a black man! And many other similar instances might be recalled. It all arises from the foolishness of preaching, from the platform, the pulpit, the press, and through social intercourse everywhere. Now that we disband, it is simply to renew our harness for new efforts; and now that every man has the right to vote, we shall widen the field and confer the franchise also upon every woman. Mr. DAVIS concluded by reading a letter from ROBERT PURVIS who had been prevented by illness from attending.

Mrs. MOTT proposed to offer a resolution of thanks to some of those who had spent their lives in this cause; but was reminded of the words of THEODORE D. WELD: "Let us as Abolitionists strike a level above which no one shall raise his head. Let us drop a curtain behind which every one shall work;" and would therefore forbear to offer the resolution.

Mr. RAY added to the list of names of former associates, that of HENRY GREW, who had left a daughter to wear his mantle. (Applause).

The PRESIDENT recommended the advice of WHITTIER, that we should not link with the cause the name of any human being, but to thank God, and to recognize his hand alone. (Applause). Of course we shall each recognize LUNDY and GARRISON as the pioneers whose names America will add to the benefactors of the world; but when we have done that let us stop the catalogue.

The following hymn, written for the occasion, was then sung:

THE FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT.

BY JOHN T. SARGENT.

All Hail! This glad decree,
By which the Freedman stands
Crowned with his Liberty!
And holding in his hands
The guerdon of his social right!
Attained through many a mortal fight!

We shout aloud our joys
For JUSTICE done at last!
The Freedmen have a voice!
With us are freely cast
Their votes, their will, their social lot,
Nor claim we aught which they may not.

So stands, fulfilled, at length,
God's purpose in our dead,
To add a social strength
To those whom he had freed!
For *thus*, alone, we truly see
Those, once enslaved, made wholly free!

Then give to God the praise;
Great Father of us all!
Who thus the weak doth raise
And "lifteth those who fall
To HIM,—to HIM alone, be given
Due praise from all, on Earth, in Heaven!

SPEECH OF FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS said: I share the sentiments I have heard expressed here. I am less disposed, however, to unite in eulogistic references to the labors of this Society, and in regrets at its discontinuance, than in rejoicings over the accomplishment of its work. I seem to myself to be living in a new world. The sun does not shine as it used to. I am living in an entirely new atmosphere. One of the wonderful things connected with this great revolution through which we have passed, and are passing, is the completeness of the work. While the reformers in other countries have been compelled to be content with half measures, favoring the objects that they sought, here we have a reform absolutely complete. Who could have imagined ten years ago, or even seven years ago, what has occurred? Ten years ago I walked among men with my head erect, ready to meet indignation with indignation, denunciation with denunciation, hard words with hard words. I went abroad at that time for insult and for buffeting on every hand; and there was seldom an occasion that I could not find it. Now I go abroad among men to find that civility is the rule, and insult the exception. The people in the street look different to me from what they used to. The old elements of malice and hate and contempt that I once saw written in the faces of men, seem mostly to have disappeared. It is a great change, a vast, a wonderful, an amazing change to me. I used to say, when called upon to speak on the subject of slavery, that I felt the poverty of language. Words were insufficient, were weak, tame, worthless, to describe the unutterable horror of that relation that doomed a man to the condition of slavery. A slave to-day,—to-morrow—for all the days of one's life;—what words either of earth or hell could portray the deep damnation of such a lot? But I am equally at a loss to-day for words to express my sense of the great triumph of justice and liberty that this association has been so largely instrumental in achieving. Not only the slave emancipated, but a personal liberty bill, a civil rights bill, admitted to give testimony in courts of justice, given the right to sit on juries, the right to vote, eligible not only to Congress but to the Presidential chair—all for a class stigmatized but a little while ago as worthless goods and chattels to all intents and purposes, but now regarded as men, and not only men but men among men, equal to any, feeling like men, recognized as such before the law, and beginning to be recognized as such even by the party that has endeavored to crush us.

One of the dangers of this change is in the temptation that is to come to the colored vote hereafter from the Democratic party. To secure the colored vote of the South, how nicely they will argue! They will say to the negro, "Before this great revolution took place, we were of course against your enfranchisement, as were the Republicans also at heart; we were opposed to any change; but now that it has come, and not from any love for you entertained by the Republican party, but as your emancipation was a military necessity, your enfranchisement was a political necessity; we accept it; and we are as good friends of yours to-day as are the Republican party, and a great deal better." And as poor men are so unfortunate in their constitution that they are generally more grateful for favors to come than for favors past, (applause) many of them will probably bow down by-and-by to the Democratic leaders who will know how to tempt them.

But I rose merely to apologize for not speaking; for I am suffering from hoarseness and am hardly able to speak. You may ask why I came here if I did not mean to speak. In fact I could not very well keep away from here. I know no place in the world where to-day I could be half as happy as here; to see these faces; to hear these voices; and these faces bring up other faces to memory dear but passed away. If I know any one name more than another of modern times worthy to be reverently and affectionately mentioned here to-day, it is the name of him who has recently passed away, and whose widow has given us this morning such reminiscences of the past as to cause our hearts to burn;—I refer to JAMES MOTT, (Applause), one of the most devoted friends of the cause that I ever knew; always happy, but I have never seen him look more happy at any time than when I have seen him standing in the great congregation under a tent in the West holding the bonnet of his beloved wife while she plead the cause of the American slave as none other could plead it at that time.

The name of FRANCIS JACKSON comes up, and that serene loving face passes before me to-day. But I must not go into details. I thank you even for the chance to sit upon this platform, to look in your faces, and to mingle my joy and my thanksgiving with yours for the great deliverance that has been wrought out.

The only thing that makes me solemn on this occasion is the fact that the black man is now absolutely thrown on his own responsibility; that by the acts of the government under which he lives, by his emancipation and his perfect enfranchisement, he is stripped of every apology for any sort of lack of manhood or of usefulness in society. I sometimes tremble when I think what the future may reveal in our case. And I *wish* to say here to those of my complexion, that if twenty-five years hence the colored man in the United States shall not have greatly advanced from his present condition, it will go hard with him. We must either go forward or fall back. All that I have ever asked for the colored man of the United States is just what he now has, absolute fair play. If he can stand up, well. If he falls down and disappears, I have sometimes been tempted to say, Equally well. No man has a right to live unless he can live by the powers which God in his wisdom has given him. We must depend on ourselves, make our own record, make our own future. I have no doubt that we will, or at least but few shadows of doubt.

We have already made vast progress. Two hundred years ago it was thought to be necessary by a pious missionary in the British West Indies to write a book of 200 pages to prove that it was right in the sight of God to baptize a negro. (Laughter). It was not a question entirely free from difficulty. It was the theory that baptism was a rite only to be administered to free moral agents, men who could decide for themselves their own course of conduct; and a negro, it was said, was not a person in that sense, but property; and it never could be acceptable in the sight of God to baptize mere property. And Dr. GODWIN actually proved that although the negro was property, he was also a person. Thank heaven, we have proved to the world that we are entitled to baptism. (Applause).

My friend GARNETT alluded to the fact that thirty years ago I was a methodist preacher. I hope he did not intend this congregation to understand that to be a Methodist preacher at that time was to be an enemy to the Anti-Slavery cause, or that it was *prima facie* evidence of being against the slave. Yet undoubtedly it was so at that time; for all over the country the Methodist preachers were considered opposed to the Anti-Slavery movement; although I meet a great many now who tell me that this whole revolution has been wrought out by the prayers of the Methodist church. (Laughter.) But in my own case, I was as much of an Abolitionist thirty years ago as at any time since; and when a Methodist preacher and local exhorter, I was as denunciatory of slavery as at any time since. I have seen great improvement in American ministers, white as well as colored; but I have never seen on our Anti-Slavery platform during the last thirty years, a single Methodist bishop, white or black. I rejoice that we have one here to-day.

It is very difficult now to find pro-slavery ministers anywhere. Even the old arguments drawn from the Bible of the divinity of slavery are no longer referred to. That "Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren," which used to knock our black logic all into pi; for you know we were never given to abstract reasoning, but were of a race willing to work two hundred years and take our pay in religion alone, and going to heaven when we died. The text was all sufficient to upset our theory as to human rights; but it didn't upset mine enough to keep me from running away. (Laughter). I confess that such is the force of education that I did feel a little mean in taking leave without bidding the old master "good bye." I remembered that servants were commanded to be obedient unto their masters, and I had been taught that if I wanted to get to heaven when I died, I must obey that command. It troubled me a little; but I kept on running, (Laughter), and after I got North I thought it was not worth while to go back again.

One of the resolutions proposes to give thanks to God, and none especially to men. I like to thank men. I like to thank the people I see. Those people who give all their thanks to God I have a suspicion of. Not that I suspect at all, JOHN G. WHITTIER; but I have no sort of sympathy with that kind of religion that expresses its devotion to God by neglect of their fellows. All through the Anti-Slavery struggle, men have asked, "Do you love the Lord?" who showed no love to their fellow men. I want to express my love to God and gratitude to God, by thanking those faithful men and women, who have devoted the great energies of their souls to the welfare of mankind. It is only through such men and such women that I can get any glimpses of God anywhere. (Applause). I want, not to fall down and worship them, but to express my gratitude and my affection for them.

I don't want to part from you at all; and I am glad to know that we are to unite in other works, and that though the form of this association shall be dissolved, the spirit which animates it, which has given it the power to rock this country from end to end, and to rivet the attention of the American people upon the wrongs of the slave for nearly forty years, at a time when it is so hard to keep the mind fixed upon any great movement for any considerable time,—that spirit is to continue its activity through new instrumentalities, first for the Indian, whose condition to-day is the saddest chapter of our history. The most terrible reproach that can be hurled at this moment at the head of American Christianity and civilization, is the fact that there is a general consent all over this country that the aboriginal inhabitants of this country should die out in the presence of that Christianity and civilization. Why is it to die out? It is because the American people at an early day took the same attitude towards the Indian as towards the black man, excluding "Indians not taxed" from representation by the Constitution of 1789. That exclusion has kept the tomahawk and the scalping-knife busy upon our borders, and the Western sky lurid with the glare of savage warfare. The only thing that has saved the negro is first the interest of his master, and now his being brought into the American body politic. And our energies are not only to be devoted to this, but to the interests of suffering humanity everywhere; and of woman too, for whose cause we can now labor upon a common platform. (Applause).

REMARKS BY JULIA WARD HOWE.

JULIA WARD HOWE said: I was afraid there would be no room for so small a person as myself here this morning, and as the proceedings went on my heart became very full, and I thought I had many things to say if I had time to utter them; but now that room is made for me I confess that I rejoice with trembling; because I never meet these friends of ours that I am not made aware of this: that while they were doing their Father's business so sedulously, they did something, without knowing it, for themselves:—they acquired some very valuable accomplishments. They acquired the art of confronting audiences of people and finding a sort inspiration in the variety of faces and the variety of minds and hearts there indicated: they learned to marshall their thoughts; to be always armed and equipped and on the alert; and those of us who have not had that training are very deficient in these qualities.

I think we owe, among other things, this to Mrs. MOTT, that she even shows us how the Quakers fight, how the mystical sword of the spirit is best used and wielded. She reminds me of those Prima Donnas who delight the world with their magical voices, and who have made again and again their last appearance, but who are not allowed to remain in retirement. And so I think that so long as Mrs. MOTT lives and is able to come, she must never be allowed a last appearance, but must always come. (Applause). Or if we must lose her noble tones, from her not being able to speak to us, let her come as a silent, living statue of the great things that have been done and the great principles she has ever defended.

And now one word about another soldier about to go to his home. We all regret Mr. JULIAN'S retirement from Congress; but we must remember that though the bravest soldiers and the greatest generals have an occasional furlough, they are always recalled to the front when the army is to go forth to battle. I think that Providence allowed Mr. JULIAN to go home principally that the devil might not have all the good music. He has been in Washington a good while; and now those at his own home would like to enjoy a little of his music. I hope he may find it a rest and a refreshment, but a very short one.

I cannot but envy those who come here with so many interesting and happy reminiscences in common, although it is a great pleasure to hear them. I can only supply you with a few outside reminiscenses. I was a New Yorker in the days when these things first begun, and saw how they looked from the outside. It does not seem to me that our friends measured the hopeless depth of the abyss around them, and the great gulf between them and the sympathies of the republic. I remember that my tender youth was bent by the harsh judgments of good people against them. But I was sorry that they should make such fatal mistakes, and that it should be so impracticable to devise schemes to help those unable to help themselves. I remember among other things that I was told that the negroes were taught all that was necessary to save their souls, and would go to heaven as much as anybody else; and it seemed to me that the masters were even more considerate for the negroes than for themselves; for what was to save the souls of the masters and to cleanse them from this wickedness seemed not to have been thought of. Hard as it was for our friends to meet the wild and brutal opposition of the baser sort, they must have been more wounded by conscientious, kind, and well-meant opposition, and that must have been harder to encounter and to bear. The Christian heart seemed to be against them. The Christian church, as it existed, was shut against them. Everywhere they were set in the sharpest opposition to all that builds up society. And when later we were obliged to dismiss this view, and see that they were trying to build and to do a good work, they seemed to have no materials to do it with. To create free institutions seemed to be like angling for the stars of heaven; and we forgot that "the stars in their courses fought against Sisera." (Applause).

It is a good lesson for us all to remember how wide and how sure are those heavenly oracles. I suppose the country at large will feel every year more and more its great indebtedness to this Anti-Slavery party, because that party really saved us from impending wreck, in danger, that none else knew so well, to the liberties of the nation. How could our liberties be safe, how could we enjoy free institutions, with slavery recognized in our midst? How, when we were disposed to ignore the doctrine of universal human freedom, could our own freedom be secure? What foundation had it to rest upon? We might as well expect to enjoy life and property in a community of thieves and cut-throats, as to enjoy a continuance of our own liberty without the freedom of the blacks.

One word about the next decade which comes before us now and looks us in the face. The last one has contained so unparalleled an experience that I feel many anxieties to see how the next shall come up to it. It has been said that we destroy. We have been digging; and digging comes before building. We have dug a great and deep foundation. Sometimes we see in a city like New York, such foundations laid for a grand superstructure; but the enormous fortune of one year by uncertain investments is gone the next; and then these foundations remain, piteous to look at, boarded up and mouldering, and nothing comes of them. We have laid an immense foundation. I hope it is not to be boarded up and to moulder, but that we shall go on to build upon it a superstructure more glorious than we are now able to anticipate.

Some things are going to help us to build better than we knew before. There are relations yet unrecognized in government, making possible a wider freedom than society has yet known. There is a certain diamond cement to be supplied in holding the stones closer together; and our daughters are to be polished corners in the temple of State. The building stones have only been blocked out as yet, but the polish the time that is coming will be sure to give them.

One word more, of the religion of my youth. When I now look back upon it, it seems to have been a sort of "Hands off" from every pressing and useful reform. I am glad to see that new dispensation, in which it has become "Hands on" to every work that ought to be done. Religion is now in sympathy with labor. It is labor. And we are to go on and be promoted to a Paradise of all energies, to be in communion with the saints of all work.

The audience then united in singing the following:

HYMN OF THE REPUBLIC.

BY JULIA WARD HOWE.

Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord:
He has trampled out the vintage where the grapes of wrath were stored:
He hath loosed the fateful lightning of his terrible swift sword;
His truth is marching on.

CHORUS.—Glory, glory, hallelujah, etc.

I have seen him in the watch-fires of a hundred circling camps:
They have builded him an altar in the evening dews and damps;
I have read his righteous sentence by the dim and flaring lamps:
His day is marching on.

CHORUS.—Glory, glory, hallelujah, etc.

I have read a fiery gospel writ in burnished rows of steel:
"As ye deal with my contemners, so with you my grace shall deal:
Let the hero, born of woman, crush the serpent with his heel,
Since God is marching on."

CHORUS.—Glory, glory, hallelujah, etc.

He has sounded forth the trumpet that shall never call retreat:
He is sifting out the hearts of men before his judgment seat:
Oh, be swift, my soul, to answer him! be jubilant, my feet!
Our God is marching on.

CHORUS.—Glory, glory, hallelujah, etc.

In the beauty of the lilies Christ was born across the sea,
With a glory in his bosom that transfigures you and me;
As he died to make men holy, let us die to make men free,
While God is marching on.

CHORUS.—Glory, glory, hallelujah, etc.

SPEECH OF REV. O. B. FROTHINGHAM.

Rev. O. B. FROTHINGHAM said: The song that has just been sung contained the first genuine burst of enthusiasm that I have heard in the hall this morning. That was magnificent. That spoke to the soul as it came from the soul. I cannot accept this small and scattered meeting this morning as giving any expression to the heartfelt feeling that characterizes this time. This hall would not hold them. No hall in the city would hold them. No hall in the country would hold the people, men and women, white and black, who would come together spontaneously if they could but express what was in their hearts at this time. The hearts themselves are not large enough to hold the emotions. The truth is that the time is too much charged with excitement for words. The crisis is too significant to find expression in any mortal speech. The past and the future are too big with momentous issues for any one of us to venture to interpret it.

For my part I thank God and man. I thank man when I thank God, and I thank God when I thank man. (Applause). The only God that I know is a God who lives in humanity. The only living God that I know is the God whose heart throbs in history. The only indwelling God that I know is the God who makes his shrine in earnest men and women. And when I see, all through the track of the past generation, and far back of that through the generations that have gone long before, how men and women have sprung up as if a spark from heaven had fallen into their hearts,—how they have stood upon their feet and given voice to thoughts that were greater than that they had before entertained—in all that, I see a working God, a living God. I see it in the press, in the pulpit, in the activities of man, this living presence, this inevitable but lovely law, impelling us, leading us, compelling us to do our best.

The merit of this Society has been that it foresaw the secret of the hour, that it felt the spirit of the age. It was not creative. It was receptive. It knew how to respond. These men and women, so faithful, noble, and self-consecrating, have simply repeated the word which the spirit put into their own hearts. Shall we speak of sacrifice? Who knows it? Of hardships? Who has had it to bear? When men and women are engaged in any noble cause, it is such a joy, it so uplifts them, it makes them so forgetful of poverty, and care, and reproach, and shame, that the service of their divine Master is a privilege rather than a burden. It is a freedom, and not a bondage.

It has been a long battle; longer than we are apt to think. The conflict was irrepressible before we saw it. In our own memory how many battles there have been. First, see the war of slavery itself, a war in the heart of our civilization, race against race. Then came the war of words and opinions, the war of sentiments. This was followed by a war of policy; different political parties organizing themselves each by its own ideas and this was succeeded by a war of armies; and we all bear the scars of that in our hearts. And now that phase is ended, and the war of peace begins; the war of civilization, of industry, of philanthropy, of labor, of mutual action and reaction, of social influence,—all these coming up to cover over the grave with flowers, to sanctify grateful memories, to inaugurate a new future that is to be labor, progress, education, temperance, self-respect, love for man, justice and brotherly kindness.

The Proclamation of Emancipation issued by President LINCOLN abolished an institution. The institution of slavery ceased to exist then. The system of slavery remained as it was. Slavery was ingrained into the hearts of the people, and as yet no organic law had laid it under the ban. The Fifteenth Amendment is the last crowning work. It puts Anti-Slavery into the heart of the government. It seats Anti-Slavery in the chair of the White House. It puts it at the head of the bureaus of the government. It sends it to Congress with every Senator and every Representative. It puts it into the heart of the people. It makes it a portion of the cardinal law of the land. Now the whole force of the government is on the slave's side. No longer is it a question of State laws, of local prejudices, of incidental customs. The whole central power of the United States stands up and pledges itself to carry out that Proclamation of Emancipation to the letter, pledges the army and navy of the United States, pledges all the official influences, and all the power of the United States, to the utter civil and social redemption of the black man.

That is one great step forward in the march of history. It marks a crisis in the progress of the race. Only one more thing remains to do—to do for woman what the Fifteenth Amendment has done for man. (Applause). Then we shall have a Democracy, a government of the people by all the people, and in the interests of all the people. When human nature, not white human nature, but black and white, red and yellow, not Anglo-Saxon, Indian, or African, not masculine nor feminine, but all human nature together, is emancipated and free, to make its own laws, to choose its own rules, to organize its own institutions, to take charge of its own affairs, then and not till then shall we have a Democratic government.

Now what can this Society do more than it has done? Slavery is an institution abolished. The government in its organic law is pledged to the black man, to his civil, social, and political redemption, what more remains to be done? The work passes out of our hands, out of the hands of all ordinary associations of men, and civilization takes it in charge.

This is an hour for jubilee. We are here to congratulate the world. This is a time for felicitation, and not for complaint. We will have no dismal foreboding. Industry has begun its work in the Southern fields. Northern capital is going down there. The land is being opened to all cultivators. The black man will have his chance in the labor market, and his value will be felt. The enormous power of wealth is on his side. It is going down there as fast as it is protected. The land will be reclaimed. The resources of the country will be developed. The mines will be opened; canals will be dug; railways will spread all over the country. The black man will hold property; will have his right to the land; will bind himself down to it by his labor.

Education has gone there already. Thousands and thousands of schools cover the Southern country. The Southern States are welcoming education. They feel that democracy is impossible, that a republican form of government is out of the question, while men are ignorant. There is no such thing possible as a degraded republic, a stupid or an inert democracy. Every man and every woman must have a mind as well as a body, a pair of feet, and a pair of hands. There must be a brain, and an educated one. The politicians feel it. And so the cause of education is bound to go on, more and more expeditiously, all through the South, until the privileges of the black man are as great as are those of the white man.

And now the black man must take care of himself. It is for him to say that he will accept the occasion, welcome the privilege, be grateful for the opportunity. Let him now do his part. Let him make himself respected. Let him be temperate; for a drunken democracy goes speedily to its grave. Let him be considerate of the rights of others, while maintaining his own. Let the past be wiped out. Let there be no more remembrance of bitterness. Let them look forward bravely and courageously, and their future is in their own hands. In twenty-five years more they may have all parties and conditions of men in alliance with them.

It was my great pleasure yesterday to see that procession of blacks passing down Madison Avenue. First came a double file of police, strong and sturdy. Those very men whom I had so often seen leagued against the black man, now walked with stately step as if the lords of creation were moving behind. The banners greeted the sweet air of that Spring day as gladly as if borne in the hands of victorious soldiers. German bands were playing their finest music for them. There were barouches filled with gray-headed men, Simeons waiting to see this day. And there were in the ranks, workingmen with soiled shoes and old caps, but with eyes in which glowed the light of a new day. I could not help thinking of the day when ANTHONY BURNS was carried out of Boston. The power of the United States which was then put forth to carry that man back to slavery, is now the protection of the black man, as of every one of us, henceforth and forever.

STEPHEN S. FOSTER would have felt at home if it was to fight a battle, but was unused to the department suitable for triumph. He was not quite certain that he ought to rejoice. He found that the New York *Herald* was anxious that the Society should be dissolved, and he would like to know the reason, before he acquiesed in the dissolution of the Society. He could see looming up in the future a great work to be done. The liberty of the negro was as yet but a liberty of the law, not yet written in the hearts of men. His freedom is the result of military necessity. His enfranchisement is the result of party necessity. We have had experience of liberty written only in law. The laws of prohibition in Massachusetts have become a dead letter upon the statute-book. Of what use is the statute when the law is not enforced? If the ballot was given to the negro only from party necessity, he had little security for the future. He felt that the object to-day was to dissolve the Anti-Slavery Society in form and not in fact; to continue the battle under new forms. The negro has not yet been given a homestead, without which he could not be free to vote. We should resolve never to lay aside our armor until the negro as well as the white man has the land upon which he can exercise an independent vote. The owners of the land at the South are now so few that they can combine, and shut out the landless negroes from the means of support, unless they vote as they shall dictate. He warned the Society that unless land should be given to them, that very race which had preserved the Union, would yet, even in our own day, bring about its dissolution. The monopoly of the soil must be broken up, or all that we have done will be in vain. The negro is the victim of years of plunder, and must have the means of providing for himself, before he is left to himself.

Continued on Second Page.